CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Canada

NL 339 (r. 85/09)

27

C-315-20250-5

National Library of Canada | Bibliothèque nationale du Canada | CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE | THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

68157

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* Linda Ironside

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* Chinese- and Indo-Canadian Elites in Greater Vancouver: Their Views On Education

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* Simon Fraser University

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/ *GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* Master of Arts (Education)

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1985

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* Dr. Norm Robinson

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

DATED/*DATÉ* Mar 20 '85 SIGNED/*SIGNÉ*.

PERMANENT ADDRESS/*RÉSIDENCE FIXÉ* 757 E. 28th.
Vancouver
V5V 2N6

CHINESE- AND INDO-CANADIAN ELITES IN GREATER VANCOUVER: THEIR VIEWS ON EDUCATION

by

Linda L. Ironside

B.A., Wilfred Laurier University, 1969

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS (EDUCATION)

in the Faculty

of

Education

© Linda L. Ironside 1985

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

March 1985

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.

APPROVAL

Name: Linda L. Ironside

Degree: Master of Arts (Education)

Title of Thesis: Chinese- And Indo-Canadian Elites In Greater Vancouver: Their Views On Education

Examining Committee

Chairperson: R. W. Marx

N. Robinson
Senior Supervisor

K. Toohey
Assistant Professor

J. Beynon
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Education
Simon Fraser University
External Examiner

Date Approved March 21, 1985

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

Chinese- and Indo-Canadian Elites in Greater Vancouver: Their Views On Education

Author:

(signature)

Linda Ironside

(name)

March 20 '85

(date)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify the educational elites of the Chinese- and Indo-Canadians in Greater Vancouver, and to obtain and analyze their views on 1) educational goals, 2) school performance and desired improvements, and 3) current educational issues. The extent of consensus between the two elites was examined, and comparisons made with other studies of public opinion.

The major research on ethnic minorities has been conducted by sociologists, providing information on ethnic stratification and assimilation. Canada's official multicultural policy in 1971 resulted in an increase in literature on multicultural education which addresses the situation and needs of immigrants and ethnic minority students. There has been, however, a lack of empirical research and little attempt to survey members of minority groups themselves as to their expectations of schools.

Educational elites were identified in this study through the use of a reputational technique based on Hunter and Bonjean. Nine elites were interviewed in order to ascertain their concerns, which were then included in a questionnaire. This was administered to 39 elites. Of those who responded, fifteen were identified as Chinese-Canadian and thirteen as Indo-Canadian.

Considerable agreement was found between the two elites and between them and the public at large. Both elites showed a strong commitment to academic education and dissatisfaction with the present school performance. Their views on school goals indicate social goals of structural assimilation, but cultural pluralism. Improvements most desired are stricter discipline and an improved school climate of respect for cultural differences.

There was no desire for special programs or structural changes within the school system. Results were not consistent with much of the literature,

which indicates both are needed; this may be due to the elite status of the respondents and the lack of attention in the literature to social class and its relation to educational needs.

This study suggests that satisfying the concerns of these elites would require some modification of present school curricula and teacher training programs, with increased attention to school climate and sensitivity to cultural differences.

It is already very much to the credit of Canada that it has succeeded in incorporating such a human diversity into one country. The challenge now must be to have the adaptability to translate this diversity into socio-political forms which represent fair recognition of the aspirations of Canadian ethnic minorities

(Anderson & Frideres, 1981, p. 328).

Acknowledgements

The patience and guidance of my supervisory committee, and the assistance of J. Leung were both needed and appreciated.

The cooperation of the staff at S.U.C.C.E.S.S. and O.A.S.I.S. in Vancouver is also gratefully acknowledged, as is the encouragement and assistance of all those who participated in the interviews or responded to the questionnaire.

Table of Contents

PAGE

Abstract iii

Quotation v

Acknowledgements vi

Table of Contents vii

List of Tables ix

Chapter One: Background 1

Ethnic diversity in the Greater Vancouver Regional District 1

Chinese-Canadians: Background 2

Indo-Canadians: Background 5

Canada: A Multicultural Country 8

Multiculturalism and Education 11

Responsive Education Movement 12

The Research Questions 13

Significance of the Study 15

Definition of Terms 18

Chapter Two: Literature Review 20

Introduction 20

Assimilation vs. Pluralism: Impact on Canadian Society 22

Ethnic Stratification in Canada and Implications 24

Multicultural Policy: the Schools' Role 28

Education of Ethnic Minorities 29

Summary 33

Chapter Three: Methodology 34

Background to the Method 34

Research Procedures 35

Community Resource Person 36

Table of Contents - Continued

PAGE

Chinese-Canadian Knowledgeables 37

Chinese-Canadian Interviews 37

Indo-Canadian Knowledgeables. 38

Indo-Canadian Interviews. 39

Questionnaire Administration. 39

Instruments 40

Analysis. 42

Chapter Four: Results. 46

The Method. 46

The Interviewees. 46

Interview Results 47

Questionnaire Respondents 47

Questionnaire Results 48

Chapter Five: Discussion 90

Appendix A: Immigration by Calendar Year, 1852 - 1982. 97

Appendix B: Greater Vancouver Regional District Boundaries 98

Appendix C: Interview Schedule 99

Appendix D: Covering Letter. 102

Appendix E: Questionnaire 103

Appendix F: Interview Quotes 114

Appendix G: Write-in Comments from Questionnaires. 119

References. 122

Reference Notes 127

List of Tables

TABLE NUMBER	TITLE	PAGE
1	Goals of Public Education: Importance Ratings	49
2	Goals of Public Education: Significance of Difference of Means	52
3	Goals of Public Education: Importance Ratings/ Comparison of 5 Highest and 5 Lowest Means	53
4	Goals of Public Education: Rank Order Correlations	55
5	Goals of Education: Identification of Dimensions	57
6	Goals of Education: Importance/Comparison of Means	59
7	Goals of Education: Importance/Comparison of Highest and Lowest Means	62
8	Goals of Education: Chinese- and Indo-Canadian Means on School Performance Grades	64
9	Goals of Education: Comparison of Highest and Lowest Means on School Performance Grades	67
10	Quality of Public Education: Suggestions for Improvements, Means and Ranks	69
11	Quality of Public Education: Suggestions for Improvements, Significance of Differences in Means	72
12	Quality of Public Education: Suggestions for Improvements, Gross Differences in Ranks	74
13	Items Which Could be Cut: Most Frequent Responses	77
14	Items Which Should Not Be Cut: Most Frequent Responses	78
15	Possible Budget Cuts: What Could Be Cut and What Should Not Be Cut. Chinese-Canadian Responses.	80
16	Possible Budget Cuts: What Could Be Cut and What Should Not Be Cut. Indo-Canadian Responses.	82
17	Reaction to Financial Cuts	84
18	Reaction to Proposed Increase in Spending	85
19	Opinions on Province-wide Exams	87
20	Opinions on Teachers' Right to Strike	89

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND

Ethnic Diversity in the Greater Vancouver Regional District

Although Canada has always been peopled largely by immigrants (see Appendix A for immigration statistics), it was new immigration policies in the 1960s which resulted in visible changes in the composition of Canadian society, when large numbers of people of a variety of races first came to this country.

In 1967, the bias inherent in the quota system based on nationality or ethnic origin was removed, and a point system introduced. This has allowed many more immigrants into this country from Asia than was previously the case. As a result, cultural diversity, which was always present, is now, in the 1980s, one of the most salient features of many Canadian cities. This is true for the city of Vancouver and surrounding suburbs, and for their schools.

Vancouver is British Columbia's largest city and the commercial, transport, communication and industrial centre of the province, as well as Canada's Pacific Rim port. It is the largest centre in the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD), a federation of 18 communities in the metropolitan area working together on essential regional services and facilities. The GVRD population is 1.2 million, including three electoral areas and the communities of Belcarra, Burnaby, Coquitlam, Delta, Lions Bay, New Westminster, North Vancouver City, North Vancouver District, Port Coquitlam, Port Moody, Richmond, Surrey, Vancouver, West Vancouver, and White Rock (see map, Appendix B).

Ethnic diversity is apparent in the GVRD. In 1981, 253,880 people spoke a language other than English or French as their mother tongue. More than 40% of the inhabitants of the city of Vancouver spoke a language other than English or French as their mother tongue. No fewer than 15 linguistic groups each represented more than 1% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 1982). The most recent study conducted in the Vancouver School

District, in December 1982, identified 46.5% of the school district's total enrolment as having learned English as a second language, or at the same time as another language. In 1974, this percentage had been only 22.1% (Vancouver School Board, 1983).

Cultural diversity in the schools is a result of past as well as more recent immigration. Large numbers of first, second, and third generation Canadians come from homes which do not share the majority Anglo culture, though they speak English fluently and in many cases as their mother tongue.

The two largest visible minority groups in Vancouver are the Chinese-Canadians and the Indo-Canadians. 1981 figures show that of the total population of the GVRD (1,267,175), 34,045 have an Indo-Pakistani and 83,135 a Chinese ethnic origin (Statistics Canada, 1982). Though not the largest ethnic minority groups, they are the largest who are visibly different.

Chinese-Canadians: Background

In 1983, the Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver celebrated the 125th anniversary of their being in the country. They first came to Canada in large numbers during the Cariboo Gold Rush, many from California where they had first migrated in 1849 to the gold fields there. Most Chinese-Canadians came from the province of Guangdong, in the south-east of China, particularly the city of Guangzhou (Canton) and surrounding counties. After 1882, approximately 15,000 Chinese men were brought to Victoria under a contract-labour system between Hong Kong and that city, men who worked as labourers in the building of the CPR.

In the beginning, then, the Chinese provided cheap labour when the railway was built in the late 1880s. Regulations restricted Chinese entry. A head tax of $50 had to be paid by every Chinese male wanting to settle in Canada. In 1903, this was increased to $500. Anti-Asia sentiment was high in British

Columbia at that time and was responsible for race riots in Vancouver in 1887 and 1907. The Canadian Government passed the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923, which allowed no Chinese, with very few exceptions, to enter Canada. From 1923 to 1948, as a result, only 44 Chinese came in. At that time, most of the Chinese people in Canada were men living in British Columbia (Multiculturalism Directorate, 1979). Numerous associations were organized in the Chinese community to provide assistance and protection.

Relations between Chinese- and non-Chinese Canadians improved after World War II, in which Chinese-Canadians took an active role, serving in the military and raising war loans at home. Chinese were for the first time given the right to send for families who, to that point, had been living outside the country. Between 1946 and 1965, 379 Chinese entered the country; most were relatives of those already here. The Chinese-Canadians were enfranchised by the British Columbia government in 1947 and the city of Vancouver in 1949. A new immigration act passed in 1962 made it possible for those without close relatives to come; in a seven-year period in the late 60s, 47,759 Chinese came into Canada (Multiculturalism Directorate, 1979). In 1982, 3,571 people from China and 6,542 from Hong Kong came into the country (1982 Immigration Statistics).

Chinese immigrants of the last 20 years have been varied as to their place of origin, language, occupation and socio-economic status. There are highly educated immigrants in technical and professional fields, as well as business. As one Chinese-Canadian living in Vancouver explains it, the community now is a diverse one:

> It's true I belong to a Chinese community, but it's an extremely diversified one. On Vancouver's Pender Street, brash Hong Kong jet-setters jostle with newcomers from rural China, Vietnam and South Africa. Since 1868, four generations of southern Chinese have settled in Canada. We are garment workers, storekeepers, cooks, teachers, nurses, engineers, and more. In this chop-suey community, no single culture defines us all. (Yee, 1983)

Another change has been an increase in political activity.

> In Canada, the early Chinese immigrants suffered political discrimination and mistreatment. These painful experiences often induced a deep-rooted mistrust and fear of politics. With their over-riding interest in financial and academic fields, Chinese-Canadians remained for the large part outside Canadian politics. (Li and Leung, 1983)

Vancouver now has a Chinese-Canadian alderman, elected for his second term in November 1984, having captured the second highest number of aldermanic votes. Numerous Chinese-Canadian candidates competed in Vancouver for party nominations and for political seats in the federal election of September 1984. The leader of the provincial Liberal Party is a Chinese-Canadian.

There are numerous associations in Chinatown, most of them under the umbrella organization of the Chinese Cultural Centre, first established in 1973. "The Chinese have perhaps more formal organizations than any other ethnocultural group of comparable size" (The Canadian Family Tree, 1979, p. 46). There are district associations of people who came originally from the same area, clan associations of those who descended from the same ancestor, trade and professional groups, and social and recreational clubs. But the need and purpose for such associations has changed:

> The Chinese Canadian in the 1970s is not obliged, as was his kinsman 50 years ago, to rely on the resources of the ethnic community for his livelihood, his welfare and his emotional support. ... Associations within the Chinese communities in the 1970s are largely to establish a cultural identity or to assist the migrant to make accommodations to the demands of Canadian society.... (Johnson, 1979)

As with other ethnic minorities, there has been an increasing sense of ethnic identity and pride amongst the Chinese-Canadians. "As the community grew more varied in levels of educational achievement, occupation, generation, place of origin, or whatever, the assertion of ethnic identity took on particular significance" (Con, Con, Johnson, Wickberg, and Willmott, 1982). As Bernard Wong points out, for Chinese in New York, however, there is often a generation gap in terms of this feeling for ethnic roots:

> From discussion with Chinese-Americans, I learned that second-generation Chinese were concerned with transmitting some knowledge about the Chinese cultural heritage to their American-born children. Their offspring, however, frequently wanted to be accepted by the larger society and were reluctant to learn the language and culture of China. (Wong, 1982, p. 62)

There is also still a widespread view that upward mobility and success in Canadian society are incompatible with strong ethnic identification and distinct cultural practise:

> There is a fear among many Chinese-Canadians that success in Canadian society can only be achieved at the expense of their Chinese culture. (Li and Leung, 1983, p. 6)

The Chinese have traditionally placed a high value on education, and it seems that this broad cultural characteristic is maintained while others may be lost. Parents, no matter what socio-economic status or educational background, want their children to do well at school and attend university or get professional training (Ashworth, 1979). Children cannot only elevate the family but also bring glory to the family name and ancestors by being good students (Wong, 1982).

There is also traditionally an attitude of deference toward the school and school authorities. Partially as a result of this, parents are often reluctant to take part in parents' groups, consultative committees, etc.

> On the whole, Chinese parents do not participate in school meetings. This reluctance seems to stem from the traditional cultural attitude of respect that recent immigrant parents have towards school and the educational system ... the parents have no place in giving advice to the school. (Report on the Chinese Intercultural Seminar, 1974)

Indo-Canadians: Background

Early in this century, steamship companies began to encourage Indian immigration to Canada. Manpower was needed at the time to fill a labour shortage in B.C. lumber mills. Once here, however, East Indians were subject to the same anti-Asian feeling that was the lot of the Chinese and Japanese. In 1907, the B.C. government disenfranchised British Citizens of Asian origin

in the province. Then, in 1908, the continuous voyage regulation, with further legislation in 1910, almost completely stopped Indian immigration. In 1914, a group of 376 Indians on the Komagatu Maru were not allowed entrance to Vancouver because they had stopped at eastern Asian ports, violating the continuous passage regulation (The Canadian Family Tree, 1979).

In 1919, Indians who could afford to do so were first allowed to bring wives and children into the country, but still immigration remained very limited. Only in 1947 were eligible Indians were allowed the full rights of citizenship when all Canadians of Asian origin in the country were enfranchised (The Canadian Family Tree, 1979). In 1951, a quota system fixed the number of immigrants from India and Pakistan; by 1957, this figure still allowed for only 300 people. But in 1967, 5,924 immigrants gave India as their country of origin. As was true for the Chinese, these changes in immigration law in the 1960s brought not only increased numbers, but also a changed composition of immigrants. Whereas the early immigrants were mostly peasants and farmers who did trucking, farming, and milling once here, this changed as more and more professionally and technically trained people came with their families. Most of the early immigrants were Sikhs, from Punjab in northern India but, after 1970, they came not only from the Indian subcontinent but also from Fiji, East Africa, Trinidad, South Africa and Tobago, and were of different religions (The Canadian Family Tree, 1979). Almost 15,000 Indians arrived in Canada in 1974. By 1981, more than 34,000 people in the GVRD listed their ethnic origin as Indian or Pakistani.

Of the people of East Indian origin in the GVRD, the majority live in Vancouver (Vancouver South for the most part), Richmond, Delta and Surrey. This group represents less and less an exclusively Sikh society: there are a variety of religious and secular organizations in the GVRD, with people from various geographic areas in and out of India (such as the Pakistan-Canadian

Association, the Fiji Canada Association) and of various religions, chiefly Sikh, Moslems, Ismaelis and Hindus.

In the past few years, Indo-Canadians living in the GVRD have had access to an increasing number of Indian language media. There are numerous newspapers, most in Punjabi, but also in Hindi and English published in the GVRD (such as Indo-Canadian, Ranjeet, Canadian Darpan, Sikh Samajar, Overseas Times, Link). There are Hindi and Punjabi programmes broadcast on two local radio stations, including the co-operative, CFRO. Indian movies are broadcast by a cable station twice a week.

Ashworth (1979, p. 193) cites a study by Ames and Inglis on the Indo-Canadians, which discusses the cultural gap between parents and young people. They found that, though the latter enjoy their freedom and independence, they suffer from the loss of parental favour.

> Indian children are brought up on the basis of duties to adults. The Indian family is adult-centred, not child-centred. Rights can only be gained by age, education, maturity and experience.... Parents expect conformity to Indian cultural traditions, values and behaviour patterns, while society expects them to become Canadian and provides little understanding or sympathy. (Subramanian, 1976, p. 5)

The Indian approach to education is quite different from the Canadian. While the Canadian system emphasizes doing and understanding, children in India learn the skills of reading and writing first with less attention given to understanding until later. They expect to work very hard at their education and are not allowed the same degree of social freedom customary for children in Canada (Bancroft, 1976, p. 76).

Since Indo-Canadians came to Canada in large numbers only in the past 15 years, their status in the community is different than that of the Chinese-Canadians who first came here more than 100 years ago. The Indo-Canadians do not now suffer the same structural discrimination as was practised on the Chinese: the head tax, the lack of voting power, the Chinese Immigration Act.

They do, however, suffer from social discrimination, misunderstanding, ignorance, and hesitation to accept them as fellow and equal Canadians, as was apparent against the Chinese in Vancouver at the turn of the century. Several school boards in the GVRD (Vancouver, Burnaby, Richmond, Surrey) have established committees and/or policies to deal with racism in the schools.

Indo-Canadians in the GVRD do not presently occupy elected positions of political power although they have been active in seeking office in federal, provincial and municipal elections. At present, there is no Indo-Canadian representation on any of the elected municipal bodies in the GVRD, including School Boards, Parks Boards or City Councils. This has been the case since Dr. S. Pendakur was defeated in Vancouver in 1974 after serving as alderman. The Indo-Canadian culture, then, has not been widely represented in any of the structures or policies established by elected bodies, the educational practices in the various school boards, for example.

That their children be fluent in at least one Indian language is important to many Indo-Canadians. Many of the temples, including those in Vancouver, Surrey, New Westminster offer language classes on Saturday. Classes are also available in a Heritage Language School which operates out of a Vancouver high school on Saturdays. There are no Indian language courses as part of the regular curriculum in the GVRD School Districts.

Canada: A Multicultural Country

With the introduction of a new government policy on multiculturalism in 1971, an awareness of cultural diversity began to permeate Canadian society and Canadian institutions. This policy had its roots in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism established in 1963; part of its mandate had been to investigate "the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safe-

guard that contribution" (Burnet, 1979, p. 45).

On October 8, 1971, the then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced in the House of Commons the new policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework", the result of the recommendations in Book IV of the report. The following four objectives of the new policy were given:

> First, the Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.
>
> Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.
>
> Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.
>
> Fourth, the government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.
>
> (House of Commons Debates, 1971, p. 8546)

One of the more immediate and visible effects of the new policy was the creation of the Multicultural Directorate within the Secretary of State Department. The Multicultural Directorate administers many programs, including grants to ethnic groups, research into the relationship between language and culture, encouragement of scholarly research, encouragement and funding for the writing of ethnic histories, teaching of the official languages, as well as programs with other government agencies, such as the National Film Board. There is also federally a Minister of State responsible for Multiculturalism.

It has been said that Canada's policy on multiculturalism is, at best, an ambiguous piece of legislation. But it does provide a plan, a blueprint out of which structure and constitutional policies may grow, for the first time officially defining a Canadian identity as including the notion of preservation of one's individual ethnic heritage. This is markedly different from the "Anglo conformity" stance, which had been the accepted ideology, people generally agreeing on "the desirability of sustaining British institutions and

norms as the established basis for building Canadian society" (Palmer and Troper, 1973, p. 18).

A Royal Commission in Canada is one of the first signs that the federal government are willing to think about a particular issue or problem. Increased attention paid to multiculturalism by government led to some awareness of the more particular plight of the visible minorities, which were included in a Royal Commission on Equality in the Workplace. In its report, tabled in the House of Commons in November, 1984, the Abella Commission (pending) stated that the biggest problem for visible minorities in terms of their work was finding employment appropriate to their level of qualifications and experience, and made many recommendations for action to correct what was deemed a social injustice.

In British Columbia, as in other parts of Canada, the federal multi-cultural government policy has spawned both an increased demand for equality from minority groups, and increased awareness and attention on the part of the government institutions. The position of Cultural Heritage Advisor was created by the provincial government in 1981, a manifestation of a new recognition by government of the cultural diversity in B.C. society.

The new attention given to different ethnic groups has been most obvious in the political sphere during elections. Headlines in The Sun, Vancouver's largest newspaper, during the federal election in the summer of 1984, clearly indicated the attention being given by both politicians and the media to what was referred to as "the ethnic vote". "Roughly eight million ethnic Canadians are just beginning to flex political muscle and it's being felt throughout the country," claimed an article on August 8th, which ran under the heading, "Ethnic minorities seek action in return for their support" (Knickerbocker, 1984). The article was a report on a forum of 15 ethno-cultural organizations meeting with representatives of three major parties.

On August 13th, an article under the heading, "Parties court Chinese vote," reported on a meeting sponsored in Chinatown at which Vancouver candidates did just that. In the same paper, a profile of the riding of Vancouver East was blunt in its title, "Ethnic vote blocs hold key to working class riding," and in the story itself, "And the party hoping to win must draw large support from the large ethnic community. According to the 1981 census, only about 30% of the riding's population is of British ancestry" (Baldrey, 1984).

A common focus of those involved in trying to make a multicultural Canada a reality has been the overt and covert discrimination and racism within institutions and the public at large. The Vancouver School Board created the position of Race Relations Officer in 1981 and adopted a Race Relations Policy in September, 1982. Other school boards in the GVRD have done the same. Both the city of Vancouver and the school board have special committees on race relations.

Multiculturalism and Education

At both the federal and provincial levels of government, there is now a new ideological base for recognizing and dealing with ethnic pluralism. This is true also in the educational sphere. There has been more and more attention given to multiculturalism and/or racism in the schools. Both Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia offer courses to prospective and practising teachers in multicultural education. The Ministry of Education for the province created the position of Coordinator of Multicultural Education in 1981. The same ministry has declared a recognition of cultural differences in learners. In its 1982 Handbook:

> There is considerable variation among students in their educational needs caused by, or related to, such factors as differences in ability to learn, differences in ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic background, differences

> in communities, and differences in educational interests and future goals... There is a need for local development and adaptation of courses to allow individual schools to become increasingly responsive to the particular needs of students in their communities. (Ministry of Education, 1982, p. 407)

Within the GVRD, the first response of the various school boards to increasing ethnic diversity was increased support for language (English as a Second Language) classes in the late 1960s. At present, the systems' response includes multicultural home-school workers and multicultural programs in some schools, although ESL services have been reduced in many areas as a result of the provincial government's restraint budget in 1983.

This represents a rather narrow definition of "particular needs of students in their communities" mentioned in the Ministry's Handbook. Educators know little about where cultural diversity impinges on the education of students, in which areas differences in cultural values bring differences in expectations of and performance in the schools. Since specific educational needs follow from broad educational goals, some understanding of the latter will be the foundation for identifying the former.

Responsive Education Movement

Canada has seen, then, in the last 15 years, more liberal immigration laws, a new federal policy on multiculturalism, and some response in the schools to a new awareness of cultural diversity.

The last two decades have seen another trend in the public domain in Canada, that is, the increasing attention paid to the promotion of two-way communication between public institutions and their constituents; and to public involvement in decision-making, what Wengert has called the "participation explosion" (Wengert, 1976, p. 23). Clear evidence of this in the Vancouver School Board has been the policy endorsing and encouraging school consultative committees (A Framework for better education, January, 1981). Its 1982 policy manual states:

> The Vancouver School Board actively supports and endorses the process of democratic community involvement that will help the Board make better-informed decisions about education.
>
> (Policy Manual, 1982)

Wengert has classified calls for public participation by agencies and institutions as 1) "participation as strategy" (wanting to act from publicly supported positions), 2) "participation as policy" (giving constituents the right to be involved in decisions which affect them), 3) "participation as communication" (making better decisions as a result of improved input and information), and 4) "participation as therapy" (a desire merely to fight the adverse effects of a feeling of alienation among constituents (Wengert, 1976). Participation is not always of the second kind, involvement in the decision-making process, but can serve differing functions; the wording of the Vancouver School Board policy seems to indicate a desire for "participation as communication".

The Research Questions

The synthesis of these two movements - toward increased acknowledgement of ethnic minorities and cultural diversity and toward more responsive education - takes place when educational systems respond to minority as well as majority views and needs. If the educational system is to be responsive to minority as well as majority cultures, input is needed from minority groups. At the philosophical level, educators must know if there is agreement with present educational policies and practices and if there are significant differences which can be attributed to ethnicity. At present, however, there is little empirical grasp on how much and where cultural diversity impinges on views and beliefs about education.

Nostrand (1974, p. 271) speaks of the "working principles and modes of action" which require agreement in order for there to be social cohesion. Educational goals and policies represent one such area. Information about

minority views is needed on such philosophical questions before one can move to deal with more specific matters of educational services and programs.

Education was shaken in 1983 by the financial restraint program introduced by the provincial government, which included cuts in grants to school districts. Under these conditions, all discussion of educational philosophy, goals or desired programs must look at priorities as well. Since educational needs exist only where schools are seen to be not fulfilling the expectations of the public, some measure of the satisfaction with the present policies and programs is also needed.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the following questions:

1. i. What are the views of Chinese- and Indo-Canadian educational elites on suitable educational goals for students, K-12, in Vancouver?

   ii. What are their priorities in terms of the educational goals?

2. What are the special concerns of Chinese- and Indo-Canadian educational elites vis-à-vis school goals and school programs?

3. How satisfied are Indo- and Chinese-Canadian educational elites with the school's performance in helping students reach goals?

4. What are the improvements Chinese- and Indo-Canadian educational elites in Vancouver would suggest for the educational system, K-12?

5. What are the views of Chinese- and Indo-Canadian educational elites on major issues of 1984: budget cuts, the introduction of province-wide examinations, teachers' right to strike?

6. What is the extent of agreement on these questions within and between these two elites; and between them and the general public?

Significance of the Study

The Vancouver School Board and others in the GVRD have expressed commitment to meeting the needs of individual students as well as to providing education which is responsive to the views of constituents. Success in meeting these broad goals means hearing from minority as well as majority voices which, in turn, requires extraordinary approaches beyond those already in place to garner opinion, since language, as well as cultural barriers, often preclude the inclusion of non-Anglo parents in the very bodies which are meant to ensure a responsive and representative system, bodies such as the School Consultative Committees. The result has been that, in the past, educators have had little or no information as to the opinions of members of ethnic minorities, whose views were drowned in the majority opinion, if voiced at all.

Ethnic minorities have not had a separate voice in policy and decision-making at the School Board level either. There have been no Board members from the Chinese-Canadian or Indo-Canadian cultures in the past twenty years. But during this time, the fabric of Vancouver society has been changing, with the percentage of the population which is Anglo-Saxon in origin shrinking, and the numbers and percentages of Chinese-Canadians and Indo-Canadians growing.

Recently, ethnic minorities have become more vocal as they become more numerous and more organized. The Heritage Language Association of Vancouver, founded in September, 1982, petitioned for a policy and won the right to use school facilities for their own heritage language programs in February, 1983. One can anticipate more lobby groups forming on the basis of common cultural and ethnic background, or the shared minority status. Only with adequate information from a wide variety of sources can their needs and demands be evaluated fairly and equitably.

But at this point, the educators in the GVRD lack data as to the educational concerns and desires of minority cultural groups, including those

relating to heritage language programs, race relations in the schools, and the school's role vis-a-vis cultural minorities. Such data are needed both to initiate programs where needed and to evaluate requests when they come. Though not intended as a comprehensive investigation of the topic, this study was designed to examine a crucial question when dealing with minority views, that is, to what extent views on educational goals and issues reflect different cultures (in which case, each cultural group could be expected to have different views) and to what extent they might reflect one's minority status in the community (so that one might see considerable agreement among various cultural minority groups). This study will help to determine whether ethnic groups should be viewed together as one sub-group, as individual sub-groups, or as not appreciably different from the majority culture. The answer to this is crucial in determining how the school boards might ensure representative policies in the future.

In the federal election of 1984, there was ample evidence of the desire of politicians in Vancouver to woo the "ethnic vote" and of the increasing attention being given this phenomenon by the press. The new Progressive Conservative government elected espouses a concern for ethnic minorities in the country, so continued financial support of the Multicultural Directorate can be expected. The encouragement to ethnic groups to express their views on public policy as a sub-group can only increase as a result, as will the need for empirical data to replace speculation and opinion literature as to their needs and desires.

The extent to which any public system can reflect diversity is limited. One-hundred-seven (107) independent schools in British Columbia received government financial aid in 1979; this figure increased to 130 in 1983, a 33 1/3% growth in terms of pupil enrolment (Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1983), a result which may be attributable to the inability of the

public system to satisfy all goals and philosophies. In the 1980s, schools and school systems must be aware of the extent of diversity of opinion about educational matters if they are to work for "unity in diversity" and avoid further fragmentation.

Knowledge as to how much diversity there may be, and between which people, will lead to other questions dealing with more practical matters: Can the system tolerate differences in opinion? How will the system deal with dissatisfaction with present goals and programs and policies, where it exists? How will the system deal with concerns which are peculiar to a sub-group of the population?

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Chinese-Canadian - a person with origins in China living as a permanent resident in Canada.

Community resource person - someone involved in the ethnic community who has an overview of the various identifiable sub-groups, resources and activists; a broad base of knowledge about at least one ethnic group.

Culture - the human-made components of society, including beliefs, values, social interactions, goals, morality, symbols and institutions.

Cultural assimilation - the adoption of the cultural patterns of the host society and the loss of one's own.

Education elites, elites - people in the community who are respected and influential on the topic of education.

Educational goals - performance goals, both affective and cognitive, statements of what students should learn. The scope of goals in this study is K-12.

Educational knowledgeable - persons deemed by others in the community to be capable of presenting views on educational matters.

Ethnic, ethnic Canadian - in common usage refers to a Canadian of non-English, non-French ethnic origin.

Ethnic category - people descended from common ancestry (country, language, religion, race or a combination), but not necessarily sharing a sense of common identity.

Ethnic group - a group sharing real or putative common ancestry, cultural and social patterns, and a sense of common identity.

Ethnic origin - the ethnic or cultural group to which the respondent or the respondent's ancestors belonged on first coming to this continent (1981 Census definition).

Ethnic stratification - the condition whereby there is a relationship between one's ethnic origin and one's economic condition or status.

First-generation Canadians - people born in Canada both of whose parents came as immigrants.

Indo-Canadian - a person in the Indo-Pakistani ethnic category (including all those who speak an Indian language) now residing as a permanent resident in Canada.

Mother tongue - the first language learned in childhood and still understood by an individual (1981 Census definition).

Multiculturalism, multicultural - a demographic concept referring to a plurality of ethnic origins in the population.

Structural assimilation - the social condition whereby ethnic origin is not a relevant attribute in the allocation of rights, facilities, resources, etc.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

There have been numerous studies investigating the public's opinion on various aspects of education, including the research questions of this research. There is no literature presently available, however, applying these same questions to a specific sub-group of the population, the ethnic minorities. The research on these groups has been sociological, investigating the apparent or real resilience of the ethnic factor, the ethnic stratification, and the definition and description of assimilation. Although there is a wide field of literature in the area of multicultural education discussing the various problems and educational needs of immigrants and minority groups, there has been little empirical work and data.

The assimilation/pluralism debate is reviewed briefly here because views of education, including goals, performance and policies, will reflect one's present status as well as long range social goals. Some understanding of these broader social goals is needed, then, to interpret the responses to the more specific questions addressed in this study. This review includes both the sociological and the educational literature which relates directly or indirectly to educational needs and goals of ethnic minorities.

Ethnic Resilience in Canada

An editorial in the Regina Post in the early 1900s voiced a common view of the day of immigrants to Canada, and the need that they assimilate:

> The vast majority of the European immigrants are simple, industrious folk but amongst them are to be found dangerous demagogues who desire to remain indefinitely a distinct and unassimilated element. (Curnisky, 1978, p. 361)

By the 1970s, it became evident in Canada that ethnicity was not disappearing as a factor in peoples' lives, that members of ethnic groups were not melting, giving rise to the metaphor of the Canadian mosaic. Although ethnic groups may lose their language and culture in the second and later generations, still they

can be identified as a separate group. There is still, however, a cynical view about the possibility of maintaining a separate ethnic identity. Buchignani (1980) believes that increased acculturation to the point of disappearance of cultural differences is inevitable. Those born in Canada, he says, will be in most respects culturally identical "with their mates" (p. 141). Reitz (1980) maintains that ethnic ties weaken over time as well, and may not be as strong as is sometimes thought. Ethnic cohesion is primarily due to economics; as the economic situation improves, people are less apt to remain closely involved with the ethnic group. The ethnic revival, he sees as mainly a cultural movement conducted by those whose economic needs are fulfilled.

Visible minorities are in a different situation, of course, than non-visible groups.

> Immigrants may differ in their desire to assimilate or retain their ethnic identity. If they wish to assimilate, their success is often directly related to their visibility.... Race is, however, the one insurmountable barrier to complete assimilation. Cultural assimilation (change of language, dress, etc.) may take place but structural assimilation (entry into professions, primary groups, etc.) may be impeded by racial visibility. (Elliott, 1971, p. 6)

The differences in the two views (the inevitability of assimilation versus the possibility of ethnic resilience), which appear to contradict each other, may lie only in semantics, in the difference between assimilation into material and non-material culture. Ethnic resilience may be shown in certain cultural values, while assimilation into the observable culture of the peer group is also true. A Chinese-Canadian youth in Vancouver who wears jeans and listens to Michael Jackson cannot be said to be totally assimilated only on the basis of these observable characteristics. The value system and world view may not be consistent with those of his peers. Even in third generation ethnic groups, people who dress and look like the majority remain different from the Anglo-Saxon culture in many essential ways, including basic values and ideas on such

topics as education (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963).

The question of the desirability of maintaining ethnic identity versus assimilation into a majority culture is a complex one, one in which there is no consensus among ethnic groups or sociologists. Many members of ethnic minorities do not maintain formal ties with that group, and consciously seek to integrate as quickly as possible with the mainstream. There has been research into the differences between ethnic groups on the phenomenon of assimilation. Anderson and Frideres (1981) have charted the differences between various groups in assimilation rates (p. 261).

Elliott (1971) outlined both the different goals of ethnic minorities (ranging from assimilation to ethnic survival) and the strategies various groups take to achieve these goals (a continuum of passive to active) (p. 8). Higham (1978) describes this concept in different terms, calling the goals those of modernity versus tradition and the strategies those of protest versus accommodation (Preface). Enloe (cited in Mallea, 1978) also sees the dichotomy as being between modernity and ethnic distinctiveness:

> At one extreme is the presumption that development is synonymous with modernization, which in turn so pervades men's lives that peculiarities defining ethnic groups necessarily vanish. At the other extreme is the conviction that development can be encouraged in such a way that modernity does not infringe on cherished ethnic distinctiveness.

Assimilation vs. Pluralism: Impact on Canadian Society

The question in an obviously multicultural Canada has been whether to encourage and promote assimilation as was done in the past, or to encourage the maintenance of an ethnic identity, a pluralistic stance. Although this latter position first became officially stated in the federal government's multicultural policy in 1971, there is still a debate as to what is in the best interests of society at large.

Some think there cannot be "unity in diversity," that the "ethnic revival" will lead to fragmentation, and for doubtful gains. Sennett (1979), for

instance, maintains that it is based on an overly romantic notion of the ethnic past, and that it becomes a very divisive force.

Rudman (1977) believes that the ethnic revival carries the seeds of national dissolution. This feeling that all North Americans must fight against "increased Balkanization", that the ethnic revival must be defeated, is strong in the popular press (Morgan, 1983).

Anderson and Friederes (1981) have attacked the policy of official multiculturalism as one which encourages double loyalties. But such a fear implies a "we-them" dichotomy in Canadian society, the "we" being the mainstream culture or ethnic group and the "them" being the ethnic minority groups. The "we-them" dichotomy is based on a false assumption, that Canada has had a cultural or social unity which must be maintained. But, since Canada's history has always been one of immigration, there has always been a plurality of cultures.

But there are those who have faith in the possibility of a just society which allows for differences:

> Moreover, a federal society which adopts a pluralistic rather than a universalistic stand, has as one of its major goals an equilibrium which provides significant minorities with an enduring sense of security for their distinctiveness, and which, at the same time, continues to generate a sense of community among all its diverse groups. (Watts, cited in Mallea, 1978)

Wallace (1961) has argued that it is institutional contracts which allow for social stability rather than shared personalities or a sharing of motives; that is, a plurality of cultures does not preclude a unity of social structure:

> Not only <u>can</u> social societies contain subsystems, the cognitive maps of which are not uniform among participants; they <u>do</u>, in fact, invariably contain such systems. (p. 39)

All discussions of the merits and problems of assimilation must differentiate between the objective or structural side, whereby ethnic origin is not a factor in the allocation of rights and facilities, and the subjective or cultural side, which entails the adoption of a certain style of living. Structural pluralism would mean having parallel and distinguishable sets of

institutions, such as separate schools, while cultural pluralism allows for a plurality of languages, beliefs, and styles of living. The social unity which is needed is structural; structural assimilation still allows for cultural pluralism.

Ethnic Stratification in Canada and Implications

The debate over assimilation versus social pluralism focusses on the question of what produces the healthier society. The other side of the question concerns what produces the greater quality of life for members of the ethnic minorities themselves.

Porter (1965) and others have documented the ethnic stratification which exists in Canada; those with Anglo-Saxon origins have the highest social, political and economic status. In his study of job status and income levels of people of different origins in Canada, Reitz (1980) found that job status was roughly commensurate with level of education and that the educational standing of any group (relative to other groups) tended to be stable, even though the actual level may rise. For an analysis of economic stratification, then, one must look at educational levels. Kalbach and McVey (cited in Anderson & Frideres, 1981, p. 81) charted the differences in educational attainment levels of people of various ethnic origins in Canada in 1971. As to the cause of these differences, Reitz points to social class as one of the factors, and the degree of ethnic cohesiveness. Others have discussed the interplay of social class and ethnicity:

> In a modern, complex society where most educational and occupational goals increasingly converge, ethnic identity tends to yield to class identity, particularly in areas concerned with economic, social and political advancement" (Nagata, 1979, p. 178).

Patterson (1975) argues the highest priority is given to those interests which do most to serve one's own self-interest. Ethnic identity he sees as being used "to serve the economic and general class interests of individuals" (p. 348).

> The principle of optimization posits that, in those instances where interests cannot be reconciled, that is, where there is inevitable conflict of interests implied in the individual's varying allegiances, there will be a tendency to choose that set of allegiances which maximizes material and social gains in the society at large, and minimizes survival risks. (pp. 311-312)

What is not being addressed in the self-interest theory, though, are the expressive goals which are not "material and social gains" such as those relating to family life, language, moral and religious values, understanding and pride in heritage and tradition. Although these may not impinge on "economic, social and political advancement," they are important to many in the definition of the quality of life. Any discussion must make a clear distinction between structural and cultural assimilation, as does Porter (1975). Assimilationists argue that the former is needed in order to advance economically in the society; they are not addressing the question of cultural assimilation.

In the 1980s, it is increasingly evident there is another factor which will determine socioeconomic status, a factor which some say will replace social class, race and religion as a social marker, that of the technologically competent versus the incompetent. If this is the case, the question becomes whether this competence will be evenly distributed across all groupings by race and ethnicity. Higham (1978) explains the conflict between ethnicity and modernization:

> Intrinsically, the ethnic group is a link with the past and a bulwark of stability. It depends on instinctive sympathies and ancestral loyalties of a wholly nonrational kind. Modernization, on the other hand, demands rationality, calculation, progress, and material incentives. It brings decimating forces into the ethnic group and sets up an inner tension between 'modern' techniques and goals and ethnic loyalty. (p. 14)

Sociologists have found that one's social standing and the system of social stratification, the subjective opinion of other people toward people and their place in the social hierarchy, depends on the two variables of class and ethnicity. Pineo (1980) looked at ethnicity and social standing in Canada,

asking people what they thought was the social rank of various ethnic and racial groups. Charter groups (French, English) headed the list; Europeans and other Westerners figured second; followed by Mediterranean and Central European. Non-Caucasian groups were at the bottom. Most significant in the study, however, is the finding that the degree of consensus and knowledge of this ranking (judged by the number of "don't know" responses) is less than that shown by the same respondants in ranking occupations, perhaps says Pineo because the ethnic ranking has not the same structural importance as the occupational ranking.

The literature indicates, then, that there is ethnic stratification in Canada, resulting in part from different educational attainment levels and social class, but which is less clearly defined than occupational stratification. In a country where education, wealth and educational opportunity are not evenly distributed, inequalities are traced to many factors, ethnicity being only one. Looking at the same data as that used by John Porter, Darroch (1979) argued that "Ethnic affiliation has a relatively minor effect on individual status" (p. 1). Ethnicity is not as great a factor in social inequality, he found, as sex or regional differences. "... Only the few most extreme groups match the occupational imbalance which working women experience and simple regional dissimilarities in occupational distributions are very nearly as great as the ethnic dissimilarities" (p. 13).

Having identified this stratification, the question becomes one of how best to improve the situation and bring about more equality. The most well-known advocate of the liberal assimilationists has been John Porter (1975), who argued that assimilation provides most benefit and that stressing group maintenance (ethnic identity) over self-development is regressive, inhibiting social mobility. He sees only universalistic and achievement values as worthwhile goals in the struggle for equality.

The psychic shelter offered by ethnic identification is seen as working against people, in that it compensates for comparative low-status positions without doing anything to change the situation which produces them. Maintenance of culture drains away, says Porter, the motivation to succeed in the larger system. "Any collectivity has limited resources and energies and cannot spend them on maintaining ethnic specific institutions and at the same time prepare members for achievement in the larger society of which it is a part" (Vallee, cited in Porter, 1965, p. 295).

Finally, Porter (1975) sees the new revival of interest in ethnicity as leading to a reappearance of theories of race and ethnic differences, with culture now replacing race. "Because it emphasizes descent group identification and endogamy, important principles of ethnic group survival, it runs the risk of believed-in biological differences becoming the basis of invidious judgements about groups or peoples ..." (p. 18).

Wiley (cited in Kringas & Lewins, 1980) has used the analogy of a tree to describe his negative view of the results of ethnicity. The opportunity system is presented as a tree, and mobility as an act of tree climbing. The limbs (ethnic identification) move upward, but primarily outward, so the climber who wants to reach the top avoids all the limbs and concentrates on the trunk, the superordinate system of the dominant group. "Where one group has effective control over major social institutions, it appears that equality and ethnicity are mutually exclusive. The alternative seems to be either multiculturalism with inequality or homogeneity (assimilation) with equality" (p. 70).

There is, in Porter's work (1975), an important distinction for educators between structural assimilation (whereby ethnic origin is not a relevant attribute in the allocation of positions or rights) and cultural assimilation (the adoption of the culture and lifestyle of the mainstream and the sacrifice of one's first language and culture). One does not preclude the other.

Individuals and institutions could promote structural assimilation, helping members of ethnic minorities to be competitive in the larger system, while at the same time promoting behavioural or cultural pluralism. The task for educators would then be one of teaching for equality of economic opportunity and appreciation of the heritage at the same time.

Jaenen (1972) argues for active measures to ensure multiculturalism does not mean economic inequality for ethnic minorities:

> This is not only because of external pressures but also because of internal acceptance in order to maintain upward economic mobility and to assure social acceptability. Therefore, a society which accepts cultural diversity as its ideal must actively counteract such a trend to uniformity and implement measures designed to guarantee social acceptability without economic penalties to those who retain particular identities. (p. 215)

Multicultural Policy: the Schools' Role

> The problem is simply this: take all the different nationalities, German, French, Italian, Russian, and all the others that are sending their surplus into Canada; mix them with the Anglo-Saxon stock and produce a uniform race wherein the Anglo-Saxon pecularities shall prevail. (Cited in Palmer & Troper, 1973, p. 18)

This statement by a speaker at a church congress in Canada in 1913 expresses the prevailing goals regarding immigrants at that time: Anglo conformity. Historically, education has had a major role in the attempt to "produce a uniform race", acting as a "form of genetic correction" (Palmer & Troper, 1973, p. 18) producing in immigrants a respect for British values.

The announcement federally of the multicultural policy in 1971, however, both reflected and promoted a major shift in thinking about this issue. There has been, as a result, a great increase in the amount of literature on "multicultural education" which deals with at least four different areas: education of the culturally different, education about cultural differences, education for cultural pluralism, and bicultural education (Gibson, cited in Young, 1979, p. 11). What is constant in the literature, from all of these perspectives, is that schools are being asked to take an active role in

cultural maintenance, a position which is consistent with the multicultural policy.

In Book IV of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1969, "The cultural contribution of the other ethnic groups" first dealt at the government level with the question of the role of public schools vis à vis Canada's multicultural reality. It states:

> Schools are the formal means by which a society transmits its knowledge, skills, language, and culture from one generation to the next. Canada's public school systems are primarily concerned with the transmission of knowledge that is essential to all citizens, including knowledge about Canadian institutions, the tradition and circumstances that have shaped them, and the two official languages. Since those of British and French ethnic origins are the main groups in Canada, it is appropriate that the British and French cultures dominate in the public schools. But public schools can also provide an instrument for safeguarding the contribution of other cultures. (Article 370)

The report acknowledged the importance of heritage language to non-charter cultures, but since education is the mandate of the provinces, not the federal government, the report was able to make only very general references regarding heritage language provision in the school system: "Members of non-British, non-French cultural groups should have opportunities to maintain their own languages and cultures within the educational system if they indicate sufficient interest in doing so" (Article 374).

Education of ethnic minorities

> At the heart of the issue lies the question of whether the schools will continue to serve the class interests of the preferred student - the WASP middle class or whether they can be transformed into vehicles of social justice. (Samuda, 1980, p. 51)

The literature presently available on the role and responsibility of educational systems in an increasingly culturally diversified society does not address this question of social justice as much as it does more limited topics: first language education, second language education, problems of scholastic achievement, cultural bias in the materials used, social adjustment factors, etc.

Although much of the literature restricts itself to immigrant education and immigrant children, it is applicable to all children coming from non-English, non-French homes where the home culture and sometimes the language is different from that of the majority. Many people have tried to define and describe the nature of the particular problems faced by these children in the schools. Hammers (1979) looked at the cultural distance between home and school, particularly the attitudes of parents versus teachers. He concluded that he could trace out for every ethnic minority group a profile of contrasts and similarities, a profile which would prove useful in identifying possible sources of conflict. The Toronto Board of Education looked at the question of the home-school difference from another perspective, that of the implications for the Board:

> The shocking recognition for the Board of Education for the city of Toronto is that within the space of a decade its cultural base has become incompatible with the central base of the society which supports its endeavour. (La Fountaine, 1975, p. 51)

The cultural bias inherent in the educational system, particularly in placement testing, is commonly discussed as a problem for cultural minority students (see Wolfgang, 1975, p. 145). Another area of concern has been that of counselling services. Wolfgang cites studies which show that counselling practices may run counter to some basic values of students and their parents, the sharing, for instance, of problems in a group setting (p. 144). In a study conducted by Ashworth (1975) in Canada, the major problem faced by immigrants or children of immigrants in the schools was listed by teachers as cultural adjustment 60% of the time and as language only 30%. Cropley (1978) reviews studies dealing with a wide range of behaviours resulting from adjustment problems facing ethnic children, including personal disorganization, delinquency, rebelliousness (p. 392). Teachers in multicultural classrooms are asked to be sensitive to such adjustment problems, to understand the belief and value systems of the various cultural groups in the class (Ramcharan, 1975).

It is not only the students who need help in their cultural adjustment, the literature points out; it is also the parents. Even well-educated parents who speak English fluently find it hard to advise their children if they themselves were not educated here. For those with a language problem, this problem is compounded. Parents may not understand the process of cultural adaptation which their children are going through; they often mistrust the schools, which they see as creating barriers between them and their children, though recognizing at the same time the opportunity which the schools offer and the need for what they teach. Schools are asked, therefore, to make special efforts to communicate with such parents.

> The success of a child's education depends very much on good cooperation between the school and the home. Over the years, the degree of parental involvement in the education of the children of ethnic minority groups has been minimal due not only to the parents' lack of voting power but also to their lack of facility in English, and in some cases, to the failure of the schools to help parents understand an educational philosophy different from their own. (Ashworth, 1979, p. 201)

The literature on the specific educational needs of ethnic minority children focusses primarily on curriculum, what they need in order to succeed in the present educational system, without broaching the topic of needs which cannot be fulfilled in the present structures, or how those structures are required to adapt in a multicultural society. The onus is on the student to adapt to his/her scholastic environment; the liberal view would see more support given for this process. The discussion of support to be given is often very limited, dealing only with language, the provision of English classes, such as Ashworth's (1975) Chapter Five, "Experimental and other programs."

One of the most prolific topics in the literature about education in a culturally diverse society has been that supporting heritage languages, teaching of and in the mother tongue, where this is neither English nor French. Some arguments in favour of such programs reflect a humanistic approach: "The strongest reason for being concerned about the mother tongue of immigrants is

our knowledge about the deep personal meaning of the native language for every human being" (Ashworth, 1975, p. 367). Cummins (1979-1980) has reviewed the variety of rationales for the provision of mother-tongue instruction for minority children, including links to the research on poor performance levels.

What is common in the literature on this topic, as with most in the field of multicultural education, is a lack of field work investigating the opinions and desires of the minority parents (setting this desire into a framework of priorities). Another problem is the lack of synthesis of the suggestions for educational programs with the broader social situation and goals of the minority groups.

The Work Group on Multicultural Programs in Toronto, however, did take in briefs from various ethnic organizations in that city in 1975. These were strongly in favour of the schools playing a role in the maintenance and development of the child's ethnic language and culture but respondents were not asked to rank this along with all of their other educational goals for their children. Negative reactions from the community on its draft report led to the dropping of the Group's recommendation that third language programs be established. It stressed instead the need for sensitivity on the part of the schools, a multicultural curriculum and that more attention be given to the problem of discrimination in the schools.

In Australia, ethnic schools were studied by Kringas and Lewins (1980). They found great differences between teachers/organizers and parents as to their motivation for such schools. The former stressed family and community structure (interactive, integrative motivation) while the latter were more concerned with communication and improved chances of getting a good job (instrumental motivation).

Though there is strong support for school heritage language programs,

there is need for more data in order to know what priority this program should be given.

Summary

Literature relevant to this study has been drawn from the fields of sociology and multicultural education. The main focus of the former was the assimilation-pluralism debate. This controversy centers on whether or not assimilation is inevitable and whether it is advisable from the point of view of the country as a whole as well as that of the ethnic minorities. Some argue that a pluralistic society leads to fragmentation and double loyalties, while others feel a just society is possible with recognition of differences.

The controversy over how ethnic minorities can best achieve equal opportunity and status in the society was also reviewed. Research shows the existence of ethnic stratification in Canada and the fact that ethnicity is a factor in social standing. But there are questions regarding the extent of the role which ethnicity plays. Some maintain it is not the greatest factor in social inequality in Canada. Porter and others have argued that ethnic minorities can work towards more equality only through assimilation and that the ethnic revival is counter-productive. An important distinction is made in some of the literature between structural assimilation and cultural assimilation, which are not necessarily coincidental.

Canada's multicultural policy and the multicultural education literature deals with the schools' role on this issue. A review of the literature revealed that several problems particular to ethnic minorities have been discussed, such as placement, achievement, cultural adjustment, and home-school communication and coordination. There is support for heritage language programs, though there is some indication parents and teachers value such a program for different reasons.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Background to the Method

This study elicited the views of educational elites in the Chinese- and Indo-Canadian communities in the GVRD, those most likely to be involved in communication with the GVRD school boards from their respective cultural groups. They are familiar with and/or interested in the educational issues which concern ethnic and cultural minority groups.

There are generally three ways of identifying community leaders:

1) those who occupy positions of leadership;
2) those who have had formal or informal roles in actions undertaken by the community;
3) those who have the reputation for leadership.

In the field of education in the GVRD, there are no formal positions or structures which draw on sub-groups within the constituencies. Members of ethnic minorities have participated in an advisory capacity, on Race Relations Committees, but there have been few actions taken by Chinese- or Indo-Canadian groups vis à vis the school boards which could be analysed to identify direct and indirect participants. Elites were identified, therefore, by means of reputation only. This was done using the reputational technique first developed by Floyd Hunter.

In 1951, Floyd Hunter, an American sociologist, developed the reputational technique as a means of identifying community elites in terms of political power. He first made a list of community leaders through discussion with civic leaders, newspaper editors, Chamber of Commerce members, etc. He then asked a panel of 14 judges, the heads of community organizations, to name the top leaders from this list, that is, to rank themselves. He put forward a hypothetical situation, using the following question:

> Suppose a major project were before the community, one that required a decision by a group of leaders who nearly everyone would accept. Which persons would you choose to make up this group - regardless of whether or not you know them personally. (Hunter, 1953, p. 57)

Other researchers modified the method, adding the snowball or cobweb technique (Schulze and Blumberg, 1957) whereby the informant's nominees became the next informants and were asked to nominate others. Schulze and Blumberg used a nominating panel which consisted of the formal heads of the local voluntary associations. They posed five questions in an attempt to distinguish between "those persons who occupy the top formal political and civic offices and those who, in their opinion, wielded the most influence and exerted the greatest public leadership in the community" (p. 293).

Bonjean (1963) asked the executive secretary of an established community association for the names of people who wielded power. Each person on the list was asked to do the same until new lists yielded many more duplications than new nominations (after 45 contacts were made).

The reputational technique has come under much attack for its inadequacy in defining power elites in a community (Wolfinger, 1960; Polsby, cited in D'Antonio and Erickson, 1962; Kaufman and Jones, cited in Schulze and Blumberg, 1957; D'Antonio and Erickson, 1962; Dahl, 1968). Wolfinger argued that the technique is useful only in identifying community leaders on specific issues. "Dahl argues that a rigorous scientist who used the reputational technique should say nothing more than that he had a list of people who had the reputation for influence and power" (D'Antonio and Erickson, 1962, p. 363).

In this study, the technique is used only for defining elites on a specific issue, that of education. Wolfinger's criticism is hence not relevant as a detractor in this case and, in fact, would support the use of the method.

Research Procedures

This study involved four different stages, each of which dealt with a different definition of subjects within the ethnic category (Chinese-Canadian

and Indo-Canadian).

1) Identifying a community resource person.

2) Nomination of knowledgeables.

3) Choosing informants (interviewees) from the knowledgeables.

4) Choosing respondents (to be sent the questionnaire) from the knowledgeables.

Community Resource Person

A community resource person was sought in the Chinese-Canadian and Indo-Canadian community in Vancouver who was involved in the ethnic community, in a position which allowed the greatest range of contact and experience. For the Chinese-Canadians, the director of S.U.C.C.E.S.S. (the United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society), a non-profit social service in the heart of Chinatown serving primarily Chinese-Canadians and new immigrants, was contacted and agreed to help. In the case of the Indo-Canadians, help was provided by three people at O.A.S.I.S. (Orientation Services for Immigrants Society), formerly an immigrant services centre, now a social service agency in South Vancouver which deals primarily, but not exclusively, with Indo-Canadians.

The selection of the community resource person is an important step in this method, since it determines the eventual nominees. Since the objective was to find those people in the community who were deemed to be knowledgeables in the field of education, the community resource person also had to be community-based, rather than a professional in the field of education, or a leader in a specific organization. People at both S.U.C.C.E.S.S. and O.A.S.I.S. met the criterion of being involved in the community, with a wide range of contacts and experience with the ethnic community. Both are broad-based community agencies, well-known in the community. Although their direct work is primarily with first generation Canadians and immigrants, the directors have an overview of the community at large through their liasions

with many different individuals, groups and organizations.

Discussions were held with the community resource persons as to the design of the study; some guidance was provided by them as to feasible boundaries (geographic and identification of populations), and information as to the various definable sub-groups of the larger ethnic category (Chinese-Canadian and Indo-Canadian).

Chinese-Canadian Knowledgeables

In an interview with the community resource person, the following question was used to elicit names of knowledgeables:

> Suppose a brief or petition were being presented to the Vancouver School Board from Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver. If you were involved in seeing that such a brief were drawn up, who are the people you would try to get to help on it, or would like to see involved. Let's say the brief is about education at the elementary and secondary levels. These people need not necessarily be involved professionally with education.

The community resource person gave ten names in response to this question. These ten were then contacted by phone and asked the same question. This generated an additional 25 names, as well as 20 duplications. The new names were contacted with the same cue, and produced an additional 43 names. This gave a master list of 88 names, only 21 of which had been nominated more than once (six people known to be Caucasians were dropped from the list). At this point, the snowball technique was halted; a sufficiently large core group had been identified and further names were not changing the composition of this group.

Chinese-Canadian Interviews

Of the 21 people who were nominated more than once, the four most frequently named (14, 11, 10 and 6 nominations) were phoned and asked for an interview. All of them agreed to be interviewed in their home or place of work. Interviews lasted one to two hours and were taped. They were semi-structured (see Appendix C for the interview schedule).

Tapes were later reviewed and salient points noted for inclusion in the questionnaire. Relevant quotes from these interviews are found in Appendix F.

Indo-Canadian Knowledgeables

The community resource person identified five distinct sub-groups in the GVRD: Sikh, Moslem, Ismaeli, Fijiian, and Hindu. They provided names (ten in all) of community activists in each of these who could serve as knowledgeables and provide further names, so that each of the sub-groups mentioned was represented. These ten people were then contacted and asked to nominate appropriate people, producing 31 new names, including nine provided directly by the community resource person (besides the ten given as contact people for the five sub-groups). These 31 people were then contacted and asked to nominate, producing 66 new names. At this point, the snowball technique was halted; a core group had obviously been identified and additions to the list tended to be either repeats of this core group or single nominations. The list generated contained 107 names, of whom 28 were mentioned more than once.

Separate lists of names nominated were kept for each of the five sub-groups identified in the Indo-Canadian community. It became obvious, however, that there was considerable overlap between the lists, that the same people were being nominated by people from two or more of the groups. At the end of the nominating procedure, of the 28 names which were nominated more than once, 18 appeared on more than one list. The community resource person indicated that on educational cultural matters, the five groups would be more homogeneous than on political or religious matters, that one could view them as one cultural group. A decision was made, therefore, not to treat the five sub-groups as totally separate for the purposes of the study (which would have produced five studies for the Indo-Canadian community) but nevertheless, to ensure there was representation from each.

Attention was given, therefore, to which names occurred on more than one list. One person was nominated on four lists: two people were nominated in three of the groups; and 15 were nominated on two lists, giving the total of 18 names which appeared on more than one list.

Names of knowledgeables were elicited through the same question as that used with Chinese-Canadian nominees in a telephone conversation.

Indo-Canadian interviews

Names were ranked, then, according to 1) how often they were nominated and 2) how many of the five lists they appeared on. Those who appeared on three or four lists were selected for interviews (three). Since these were from the Hindu (two) and Moslem (one) lists, it was decided to include for interview purposes someone from the Sikh list; the two names which were nominated most often (eight times each) and which appeared on more than one list were chosen. This procedure produced, then, five names, including two Hindus, one Moslem and two Sikhs.

These five people were contacted by phone; all of them agreed to be interviewed in their home or place of work. Interview procedures and the interview schedule were the same as for the Chinese-Canadian interviewees.

Questionnaire Administration

Names of those Chinese-Canadians who had been nominated more than once (21 in all) were listed as possible respondents. In the Indo-Canadian category, those names which had been named more than once and which appeared on more than one of the sub-group lists (18 in all) were considered as respondents. In both cases (Chinese-Canadian, Indo-Canadian), this included those who had already served as informants (interviewees). This produced a total of 39 elites.

Those whom the researcher had not talked to directly before were then

phoned, and the purpose of the study explained.

Thirty-nine questionnaires (Appendix E) were mailed on June 11, 1984, along with a covering letter (Appendix D), a stamped, addressed return envelope and a stamped, addressed card which was to be mailed at the same time as the questionnaire. (Since only the card indicated the identity of the respondent, it provided a way of knowing who had returned the questionnaire, while guarding the anonymity on the questionnaire itself.)

On June 28th, phone calls were made to those who had not yet sent in the cards; at that point, 19 questionnaires and 17 cards had been received. Further phoning was done ten days later, a second reminder. By July 31st, 33 questionnaires had been returned, a response rate of 84.6%. Of these, 15 could be identified (by mother tongue) as Chinese-Canadian, 13 as Indo-Canadian, and five could not be attributed to either group (background information not given).

Instruments

Interview Schedule

Interviews were used to elicit the particular concerns of Chinese-Canadians and Indo-Canadians in Greater Vancouver, to ensure that the questionnaire administered was applicable and not ethnocentric by its omissions. They were an attempt to uncover values, ideals and goals not presently inherent in the educational system, as well as the issues which cause the most concern in the present system.

Interviews were also intended to help offset the problems of the researcher being an outsider to the group (Higham, 1978, Preface, p. x) by providing more personal contact.

Interviews were semi-structured; the same interviews schedule was used for all interviews (Appendix C).

Questionnaire: Design

The questionnaire asked general questions about education at the elementary and secondary levels. While some goal studies differentiate between goals for these two (Robinson and Block, 1980; Andrews, 1959; Downey, 1960), no differentiation was made in this study, which asked what children should learn by the end of Grade 12. This terminal point was given so that respondents would not focus on only one level, such as the grade their child happened to be in. It can be assumed that while people do think about what children should learn at school, they do not necessarily have opinions regarding the specific grade in which they should learn it. Grade 12 is generally accepted as a minimum goal for a child's education.

There were four parts to the questionnaire:

1. Goals, Part I - The 16 goal statements used by Downey (1960). Respondents were asked to do a Q sort of these statements, giving them one of seven ranks, from the one most important to the one least important.
2. Goals, Part II was a list of 36 more specific statements, derived from four sources: the E.R.I.B.C. Study (1975), the Saskatoon Citizens' inquiry (1973), Downey's Tasks of Public Education (1960), and 8 items generated in the interviews (those most frequently mentioned and by members of both groups). Respondents were asked to rate these as to their importance as a school goal and, secondarily, to give the schools a performance grade (A, B, C, D or E) as to how good a job they are doing in helping students reach these goals.
3. Section 3 was a list of 20 suggestions for improving the quality of education, drawn from the interviews and the literature (including Kerr, (Note 1); Curriculum and Instruction Review, Regina, 1982).

They dealt with programs, facilities, school climate, communication and services, the standards, and the special ethnic minority needs presented by the interviewees.

Respondents were asked to rank these as they had the goal statements in Part I, giving one of seven ranks, from most important to least important.

4. Section 4 dealt with current educational issues in British Columbia, primarily the budget cuts and where they should be made, as well as the re-introduction of province-wide exams, and the teachers' right to strike. This part was taken from a study done in 1984 by Kerr (Note 1) in School District 71, Courtenay. Respondents were asked to indicate which cuts could be made without seriously affecting the quality of education, and which cuts would seriously affect it. They were also asked to indicate their level of support for the reduction of the provincial government funding, whether or not they would support a 3% increase in educational spending, the place of province-wide exams, and whether or not they think teachers should have the right to strike.

Analysis

School goals, Part I and Suggestions for Improvements

These were treated the same way, since they both asked for a Q sort technique of ranking, with 16 and 20 items respectively. The most important item was given a numerical value of seven, the next most important, a value of six, and so on to the least important, which had a value of one.

RANKING	VALUE
most important	7
next two most important	6
next most important	5
next most important	4
next most important	3
next two most important	2
least important	1

Each item was given a value for each respondent. These values were then added together, and means determined, for three groups (Chinese-Canadians, Indo-Canadians and the 33 together, which included the five unknowns).

The t test of significant difference was done on each item, comparing the mean for the Chinese-Canadians and Indo-Canadians.

For School Goals (Part I), a Kendall rank order correlation was also done with the results of a study conducted by Robinson and Block in West Vancouver (1980), using the data from the parent respondents and the educator respondents.

School Goals, Part II

In the analysis of School Goals (Part II), a numerical value was given to the rankings given, as follows:

should not be a school goal - 0

of little importance as a school goal - 1

of moderate importance as a school goal - 2

of great importance as a school goal - 3

Means for the value given to each goal were calculated, for three groups (Chinese-Canadians, Indo-Canadians, and the total groups of 33).

t tests of significance and chi-square were also calculated on each item, comparing the Chinese-Canadian and Indo-Canadian groups means.

Performance grades were also given a numerical value:

A=5, B=4, C=3, D=2, E=1. Mean grades were then calculated for each of the items, for the Chinese-Canadians, Indo-Canadians, and total group.

Educational issues

In all five questions, the frequency of mention of each response was tabulated for the Chinese-Canadians, Indo-Canadians, and the Courtenay study done by Kerr (Note 1) to allow some comparison of the ethnic elite groups and a cross-sectional survey.

Limitations of the Study

This study is extremely limited in terms of the subjects. What has been collected are the views of only a small number of people identified by peer nomination. The method used, with the resource person community-based and involved in the ethnic community, ensured that nominations would be people active in that community. This does not include, then, people in the GVRD who may be active on educational issues, but who are not active with their respective ethnic groups, i.e. those who do not actively promote cultural heritage and identity. University professors and teachers who take no part in ethnic organizations would fall into this category. There has been no attempt in this study to compare the views of those active in the community with those who are not. The respondents are a very small group, the educational elites in their respective ethnic communities. They cannot be said to represent the whole ethnic group, or to speak for it. Since there has been no study of a cross-section of the ethnic communities, it is not known how much their views converge with or diverge from the views of the ethnic group at large. The numbers of people in each group (15 Chinese-Canadians, 13 Indo-Canadians) were

small, rendering any attempt at tests of significant difference and wide generalizability rather weak.

One cannot be clear as to the identity of the nominees, except to say that these people have a reputation for influence and knowledge in this field. This does not mean they are, in fact, knowledgeable on the topic or influential in the area of education.

The elites of the two ethnic minorities differ in terms of their sex; only one of the 13 Indo-Canadian respondents was a woman, while nine of the 15 Chinese-Canadians were female. There are as a result two variables distinguishing two elites: ethnocultural background and sex.

Only Part 1 of the study uses an instrument (Downey's list of goals) which has been tested and shown to be both valid and reliable. Conclusions drawn from the other parts of the study, therefore, must be cautious. Some validation has been shown through replication of results between Parts 2 or 3 with Part 1, or within one Part.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

The Method

Using the reputational technique produced a list of 88 names for the Chinese-Canadians and 107 for the Indo-Canadians. There were, of course, different interpretations of the cue question asking for nominations. Some felt that they should give names of "grass roots" people, while others felt this called for the prominent members in the community. Some felt the knowledgables would have to be parents; some produced the names of people they personally had worked with rather than people generally known in the community. Finally, it may also be true that people gave names of others whose views on education they agreed with, or people they liked. There were Caucasians nominated by both Chinese- and Indo-Canadians.

In spite of such differences in interpretation and views as to who should speak on issues in the ethnic community, however, the technique was successful in both groups in producing a core list of people who were nominated more than others and who can therefore be said to enjoy the widest reputation on education questions.

The Interviewees

All nine elites (five Indo-Canadians and four Chinese-Canadians) who were interviewed had professional training, including a Master's degree in eight of the nine cases. Ages ranged from 36 to 59.

All parents clearly placed a high value on children succeeding here professionally, while at the same time maintaining a pride in their ethnic culture. Only one of the nine was in favour of separate ethnic schools where the mother tongue would be taught and used as the language of instruction.

The Chinese-Canadians were different from the Indo-Canadians in two significant and obvious ways. All five Indo-Canadians were men, while only one of the four Chinese-Canadians was a man. Secondly, the income range for the

Indo-Canadians was higher, with all five over $30,000 while only one out of the four Chinese-Canadians had an income that high.

It is significant that only one of this group of nine was born in Canada; the rest are immigrants. There is a commonly held view that ethnic resilience, at least in its observable forms, such as participation in the ethnic community, is strongest with immigrants and becomes less of a factor in peoples' lives in subsequent generations.

Interview Results

Although the interview was only semi-structured, there was a great deal of repetition between the two groups in terms of the individual points being raised. There was no call in any of the interviews for changes to the structure of the educational system, or even for major changes in programs. Major concerns were that high standards be applied and that academic subjects be stressed. Another was that materials, teaching methods, and curriculum promote an awareness of the multicultural nature of Canada, that there be a breakdown of Anglo ethnocentrism, and an acknowledgement of and respect for cultural differences. There was also deep concern expressed by all of these elites for the uneducated parents in the ethnic community, those who were not well-educated in their native country and who have, as a result, more difficulties here in guiding their children. A list of comments relevant to the study is found in Appendix F.

The questionnaire respondents (educational elites)

Of the 15 Chinese-Canadian elites (6 male, 9 female), four were born in Canada; the rest have lived in Canada from 8 to 33 years. The majority (9) were under 40 years of age. All but one were working as professionals. Nine have children presently attending schools in British Columbia at the elementary, secondary or post-secondary level. Only one of the 13 Indo-Canadians (12 male, 1 female) was born in Canada. As a group, they were older

than the Chinese-Canadian group - only one was under the age of 40. Five people did not respond as to occupation; the others were professionals or self-employed. All but two have children attending British Columbia schools.

Questionnaire Results

The results of this study show that:

a) both Chinese- and Indo-Canadian elites place high value on education.

b) both groups value most highly academic or intellectual goals.

c) the most important of the special concerns relate to school climate.

d) both groups have low opinions of the performance of the schools in promoting certain educational goals.

e) there is little disagreement between these two ethnic elites and between either of them and a cross-sectional opinion on most goals and educational issues.

What are the views of Chinese- and Indo-Canadian educational elites on suitable goals for students? (Research question 1)

What are their priorities in terms of educational goals? (Research question 1)

Table 1 presents the means and ranks on goal statements resulting from this study and from an earlier one conducted by Robinson and Block (1980) in West Vancouver, a suburb of Vancouver which is part of the GVRD. Both used the 16 goal statements developed by Downey (1960), divided into four dimensions, Intellectual, Social, Personal and Productive. This allows a comparison of the two ethnic minority elites in 1983 with a cross-sectional survey done four years earlier. Because Downey's goals are of a very general nature, there is no mention of specific goals relating to ethnic minorities.

Comparing the means of the Chinese- and Indo-Canadians, there is a great deal of similarity apparent. Table 2 shows that differences between them

Table 1

Goals of Public Education: Importance Ratings

Means and Ranks of Chinese- and Indo-Canadians (1984),

West Vancouver Parents and West Vancouver Educators (1980)*

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)		Indo-Canadians (n = 13)		West Vancouver Educator (n = 109)		West Vancouver Parent (n = 245)	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Intellectual								
1. A fund of information about many things.	4.47	7	4.62	6	3.83	10	3.85	9
2. Efficient use of the 3 R's - the basic tools for acquiring and communicating knowledge.	5.73	1.5	5.62	1	5.76	1	6.42	1
3. The habit of weighing facts and imaginatively applying them to the solution of the problem.	4.80	4	5.46	2	5.52	3	5.32	3
4. A continuing desire for knowledge - the inquiring mind.	5.60	3	5.39	3	5.53	2	5.45	2
Social								
5. A feeling for other people and the ability to live and work in harmony.	5.73	1.5	4.85	5	4.89	4	4.54	4
6. An understanding of government and a sense of civic responsibility.	3.27	11	3.92	9	3.96	9	3.95	7
7. Loyalty to Canada and the Canadian way of life.	2.40	16	3.46	11	2.70	14	2.79	13
8. Knowledge of world affairs and the inter-relationships among people.	4.20	8	3.69	10	4.05	7	4.18	5

Table 1 - Continued

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)		Indo-Canadians (n = 13)		West Vancouver Educator (n = 109)		West Vancouver Parent (n = 245)	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Personal								
9. A well-cared for, well-developed body.	3.67	10	3.00	13.5	3.95	8	3.75	11
10. An emotionally stable person prepared for life's realities.	4.73	5	4.92	4	4.25	5	3.91	8
11. A sense of right and wrong - a moral standard of behaviour.	3.87	9	4.62	7	4.07	6	3.78	10
12. Enjoyment of cultural activities - the finer things of life.	2.93	13	3.00	13.5	3.35	12	2.93	12
Productive								
13. Information and guidance for wise occupational choice.	4.50	6	3.92	8	3.80	11	4.10	6
14. Specialized training for placement in a specific job.	3.07	12	3.39	12	2.42	16	2.76	15
15. The homemaking and handyman skills related to family life.	2.47	15	1.85	16	2.69	15	2.69	16
16. Management of personal finances and wise buying habits.	2.57	14	2.31	15	3.04	13	2.78	14

* Robinson and Block, 1980

proved to be significant at p = .05 in only three cases, Numbers 3, 5, and 7. The fact that the word "harmony" is important in traditional Chinese culture and literature might account for the higher value which the Chinese-Canadians gave to Goal 5 (a feeling for other people and the ability to live and work in harmony).

As for Goal 7, the Indo-Canadians value "Loyal to Canada and the Canadian way of life" significantly more than do the Chinese-Canadians, who rank it lowest. Reasons for this difference might be: 1) patriotism and loyalty are not valued as highly by Chinese-Canadians or 2) they are valued as social goals but are not seen to be an important part of the school curriculum. Indo-Canadians rated this goal higher than did either West Vancouver group; they give the highest priority to students forming a strong affiliation with and loyalty to this country. Indo-Canadians have been in Canada in large numbers only since the 1960s, so ties with the native country are still stronger than for other immigrant groups. The response on Goal 7 may indicate a feeling that children must clearly identify as Canadians; this feeling may be stronger because the roots in Canada are weaker, and there is more chance of identity with the home culture and country of origin.

Finally, the Indo-Canadians gave more importance to Goal number 3, the "habit of weighing facts and applying them to the solution of problems." Both groups do rate this in the top four, however.

In an examination of the four dimensions, there is no trend apparent as to differences between the two groups; in none of the four is one group consistently higher than the other. They are not only very consistent in their individual ratings, but also in the relative collective value given to each of the four educational dimensions given. In Table 3, the goals with the highest and lowest means for each group provides another comparison. Both groups place

Table 2
Goals of Public Education
Significance of Difference in Means: Chinese-Canadians and Indo-Canadians

GOAL	MEANS		t value	p.
	Chinese-Canadians (n=15)	Indo-Canadians (n=13)		
1. A fund of information about many things.	4.47	4.62	-0.24	.81
2. Efficient use of the 3-R's - the basic tools for acquiring and communicating knowledge.	5.73	5.62	0.25	.80
3. The habit of weighing facts and imaginatively applying them to the solution of the problem.	4.80	5.46	-2.12	.04
4. A continuing desire for knowledge - the inquiring mind.	5.60	5.38	0.64	.53
5. A feeling for other people and the ability to live and work in harmony.	5.73	4.85	2.23	.03
6. An understanding of government and a sense of civic responsibility.	3.27	3.92	-1.52	.14
7. Loyalty to Canada and the Canadian way of life.	2.40	3.46	-2.76	.01
8. Knowledge of world affairs and the inter-relationships among people.	4.20	3.69	1.65	.11
9. A well-cared for, well-developed body.	3.67	3.00	1.66	.11
10. An emotionally stable person, prepared for life's realities.	4.73	4.92	-0.37	.72
11. A sense of right and wrong - a moral standard of behaviour.	3.87	4.62	-1.47	.15
12. Enjoyment of cultural activities - the finer things of life.	2.93	3.00	-0.19	.85
13. Information and guidance for wise occuptional choice.	4.50	3.92	1.36	.19
14. Specialized training for placement in a specific job.	3.07	3.38	-0.48	.63
15. The homemaking and handyman skills related to family life.	2.47	1.85	1.54	.14
16. Management of personal finances and wise buying habits.	2.57	2.31	0.76	.45

Table 3

Goals of Public Education: Importance Ratings

Comparison of 5 Highest and 5 Lowest Means

HIGHEST MEANS

Chinese-Canadians		Indo-Canadians		West Vancouver Educators		West Vancouver Parents	
Goal Number	Mean	Goal Number	Mean	Goal Number	Mean	Goal Number	Mean
2	5.73	2	5.62	2	5.76	2	6.42
5	5.73	3	5.46	4	5.53	4	5.45
4	5.60	4	5.39	3	5.52	3	5.32
3	4.80	10	4.92	5	4.89	5	4.54
10	4.73	5	4.85	10	4.25	8	4.18

LOWEST MEANS

7	2.40	15	1.85	14	2.42	15	2.69
15	2.47	16	2.31	15	2.69	14	2.76
16	2.57	9	3.00	7	2.70	16	2.78
12	2.93	12	3.00	16	3.04	7	2.79
14	3.07	14	3.39	12	3.35	12	2.93

a high value on the Intellectual side of schooling; three of the four highest ranks were given to that dimension, Goals 2, 3, and 4. There is no disagreement at all as to the five which are the most important, adding to the three from the Intellectual dimension, one from the Social (Goal number 5) and one from the Personal (Goal number 10). Only the Productive Dimension does not figure at all in the top five, for either group.

These are entirely consistent as well with the West Vancouver Parents, the West Vancouver Educators differing in only one. All groups value the skill of communication (Goal number 2) highest as a school goal, and place great value on weighing facts (Goal number 3), a desire for knowledge (Goal number 4) and harmonious relations with other people (Goal number 5). For no group does a "fund of information" (Goal number 1) figure in the top five, although the elites both rank it higher than the West Vancouver groups. This could reflect either the elite status or a cultural difference in expectations of what schools should do.

In looking at those goals which were given the five lowest ranks (Table 3), again one sees a great deal of consistency. Chinese-Canadians, West Vancouver Educators and West Vancouver Parents agree on all five, while Indo-Canadians differ on only one; they value the physical aspect of personal development (Goal number 7) as a school goal less than do all the other groups.

The rank order correlations (Table 4) provide a measure of the similarity in the overall ranking between all four groups. All six comparisons show a high degree of similarity in the ranking orders. The highest correlation (.78) is between the groups which are most homogeneous in location and cultural composition (a cross-section), the West Vancouver Parents and Educators. The two ethnic minority groups show correlations with the West Vancouver groups which are very close to the correlation between themselves. That is, the ethnic minorities did not prove to be more like each other in their views than

Table 4

Goals of Public Education

Rank Order Correlations (Kendall)

	Chinese-Canadians	Indo-Canadians	West Vancouver Parents	West Vancouver Educators
Chinese-Canadians		.73 (p = .00)	.74 (p = .00)	.69 (p = .00)
Indo-Canadians			.69 (p = .00)	.72 (p = .00)
West Vancouver Parents				.78 (p = .00)

they were like people in West Vancouver.

Analysis of Section 1 of the questionnaire has shown little evidence of a diversity of opinion either between the two ethnic groups or between them and those in West Vancouver. At this level of generalisation about school goals, there is evidence of significant differences between the two ethnic groups which could be attributed to their individual culture or status in Canada in only two cases, Goals 5 and 7.

What are the special concerns of Chinese- and Indo-Canadian elites? (Research question 2)

What are their priorities in terms of educational goals? (Research question 1)

Section 2 provided a second list of goal statements, 36 in all, and asked respondents to evaluate their importance as a school goal and to give the schools a grade on their performance on this goal. The list included eight items which were drawn from the interviews with Chinese- and Indo-Canadians, the "special concerns" which were not covered in other conventional goal studies. (Many of the others on the list of 36 goals were also mentioned in interviews, but are not "special concerns" in that they are found also in other studies and surveys as separate statements.) These dealt with family heritage (Goal 2), life skills (Goal 3), British Columbia systems and institutions (Goal 4), respect for other cultures (Goal 10), mother tongue (Goal 13), memory (Goal 14), world cultures (Goal 33), and race relations policies (Goal 23).

Table 5 places the list of 36 into the same four dimensions as the goal statements treated in Table 1. This placement is an arbitrary one; though more than one dimension may be implied by certain goals, they have been placed in what was considered to be the main focus of the suggestion in the interview.

Table 5

Goals of Education: Identification of Dimensions

Intellectual Dimension	Social Dimension	Personal Dimension	Practical Dimension
2.*family heritage	7. natural environment	1. physical	3.*life skills
4.*B.C. institutions and systems	9. self-expression	5. sports and recreation	12. job skills
8. official languages	10.*respect for other cultures	6. moral values	22. family life skills
13.*mother tongue	11. manners	15. artistic expression	35. career choices
14.*memory	17. contribute to society	18. adaptability	
16. drugs, smoking	27. sense of world community	19. aesthetic appreciation	
20. science	31. co-operation	26. self-concept	
21. Canadian heritage	32. social responsibility	30. personal goals	
23.*race relations policies			
24. English			
25. mathematics			
28. human reproduction			
29. logical thinking			
33.*world cultures			
34. desire for learning			
36. religion			

* Special concern drawn from interviews.

Of the eight "special concerns", six are in the Intellectual dimension. These can be summarized as three areas of knowledge - of heritage, of British Columbia society, and of various cultures. None of this is antithetical to existing school goals; they can be called special concerns only in that for the ethnic minorities, they are explicitly rather than implicitly stated. There were no "special concerns" in the Personal dimension. The one addition in the Social dimension (Goal 10) is the affective side of Goal 33 in the Intellectual dimension; they deal with knowledge and attitudes needed in a multicultural society. The one addition in the Productive dimension, Goal 3, is the expression of concern about children of recent immigrants who did not grow up here and who might therefore be unable to pass on such knowledge to the children.

Table 6 presents the means for the Chinese- and Indo-Canadians ratings of importance of each goal statement. Since there was no ranking of any kind in this section, and only four discriminators, the range in the means is slight, both within and between the two groups. Only three differences in means proved to be statistically significant at $p = .05$; Goals 1, 28, and 34. In each case, the Chinese-Canadians gave a higher rating than the Indo-Canadians. Since the respondents were all elites, these differences can be attributed to cultural differences in the two groups. The inclusion of physical fitness (Goal 1) in the school curriculum is a major difference between North American educational systems and those found in many Asian countries. Although the Chinese-Canadians rated Goal 1 higher than the Indo-Canadians, they both give Goal 5 (Sports and Recreation) a very low rating. The Chinese-Canadians accept, then, a regular P.E. program which works towards fitness, but reject, as do the Indo-Canadians, the teaching of sports and forms of recreation in the school.

The difference of opinion on Goal 34 (desire for learning) and the low value given by Indo-Canadians is not consistent with results in the first-

Table 6
Goals of Education: Importance*
Comparison of Means, Chinese-Canadians and Indo-Canadians

GOAL	Chinese-Canadians Mean (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians Mean (n = 13)	t value	p.
1. Value physical fitness and well-being and apply principles of health and safety in daily living . .	2.53	2.00	2.30	.03
**2. Understand and appreciate their family heritage and roots . . .	2.53	2.31	0.94	.36
**3. Learn the life skills needed and resources available in this society dealing with banking, income tax, social and medical services, etc. . .	2.40	2.15	.99	.33
**4. Learn about the economic, political and judicial systems, as well as the social institutions of British Columbia and Canada	2.33	2.23	.50	.62
5. Learn sports, hobbies and other forms of recreation	1.87	1.77	1.04	.31
6. Develop a personal code of ethics and moral values	2.53	2.39	.56	.58
7. Learn respect for the environment and learn to use natural resources responsibly	2.21	2.08	.59	.56
8. Learn both official languages	2.33	2.54	-0.85	.40
9. Learn to communicate their own ideas and feelings	2.73	2.77	-0.21	.84
**10. Respect other cultures and have an understanding of the interdependence of people	2.80	2.46	1.92	.07
11. Learn good manners and proper social conduct	2.20	2.23	-0.12	.91
12. Learn skills for specific jobs . . .	2.00	2.08	-0.39	.70
**13. Learn their mother tongue if it is not English or French	1.73	1.92	-0.30	.77
**14. Develop a good memory	1.8	2.15	-0.76	.45
15. Learn to express themselves through forms such as music, writing, dance, film, etc.	1.93	2.23	-1.49	.15
16. Understand the nature of drug, alcohol, and tobacco usage and the impact it has on mental and physical health	2.47	2.54	-0.29	.77
17. Develop the potential for positive contributions to society.	2.60	2.69	-0.43	.67
18. Develop the ability to adapt to the changing demands of society	2.60	2.31	1.56	.13
19. Learn to appreciate various forms of beauty and culture	2.00	2.00	0.0	1.0
20. Learn scientific principles and methods	2.57	2.46	.48	.63

Table 6 - Continued

GOAL	Chinese-Canadians Mean (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians Mean (n = 13)	t value	p.
21. Understand and appreciate the Canadian heritage, including that of all ethnic and racial groups . . .	2.67	2.46	1.08	.29
22. Learn the skills of family living such as homemaking, craftsmanship, money management	1.93	2.08	-0.69	.50
**23. Learn about the race relations policies and legislation	1.93	2.42	-1.81	.08
24. Learn the English which will be needed in many different situations including business, further schooling and social life	2.67	2.92	-1.67	.11
25. Learn to do mathematical calculations	2.47	2.46	0.02	.98
26. Develop a positive self-concept . . .	2.60	2.39	0.81	.42
27. Develop some sense of world community and of international goodwill	2.27	2.23	0.14	.89
28. Understand the biological facts of human reproduction	2.47	1.92	2.49	**.02**
29. Learn to be analytical and logical in their thinking	2.67	2.62	0.27	.79
30. Develop personal goals	2.40	2.69	-1.36	.19
31. Learn to work co-operatively with others including those who dress, act and think differently	2.73	2.54	1.06	.30
32. Learn to make socially responsible decisions	2.60	2.39	1.12	.27
**33. Learn about various cultures of the world	2.40	2.15	1.23	.23
34. Develop a lasting desire for learning	2.80	2.15	4.30	**.00**
35. Learn how to make wise career choices	2.60	2.46	.57	.58
36. Understand the beliefs of at least one religion	1.40	1.42	-0.30	.76

* Ratings

Should not be a school goal - 0
Of little importance as a school goal - 1
Of moderate importance as a school goal - 2
Of great importance as a school goal - 3

** Special concern drawn from interview.

section, where both groups agreed on the high value for Goal 4 (a continuing desire for knowledge) and ranked it third (Table 1). Responses on Goal 28 (knowledge of human reproduction) indicate the Indo-Canadian elites are more conservative in this than the Chinese-Canadian elites.

Of the eight items which are "special concerns", none show a significant difference in the means. Nor do they show an overall smaller difference in means than the other items, indicating no higher level of agreement on these items relating specifically to ethnic minorities than on others.

Table 7 sets out the statements with the highest and those with the lowest means for the two groups. There is agreement on only two of the five highest (Goals 29 and 24). The importance given to Goal 29 (logical thinking) is consistent with the high value given by both groups to Goal 3 (weighing facts) in Table 1. Again the stress on the Intellectual side is apparent in the Chinese-Canadian ratings, with four of the five highest being in that dimension. For the Indo- Canadians, however, the top five include two from the Intellectual, two from the Social and one from the Personal dimension. Since no attempt was made in this section to provide an inclusive list, the conclusions which can be drawn are very conservative. One can say only that, of the items provided, the Indo-Canadians preferred goals in three different dimensions, while the Chinese-Canadians were more narrow, and did not find any goal in the Personal dimension worthy of a top rating. Again the Productive dimension is noticeably missing in the list of top five for either group.

One of the special concerns, Goal 10 (the respect for other cultures) received the highest rating by the Chinese-Canadians, which is consistent with Table 1: they rated Goal 5 (social harmony) significantly higher than did the Indo-Canadians and as one of the two most important school goals. This could be attributed to the high value placed on social harmony and social consensus, but it may also indicate a stronger concern for the importance of such

Table 7
Goals of Education: Importance
Comparison of Highest and Lowest Means
Chinese- and Indo-Canadians

HIGHEST MEANS

CHINESE-CANADIAN	INDO-CANADIAN
10. Respect other cultures and have an understanding of the inter-dependence of people. (X = 2.80)	24. Learn the English which will be needed in many different situations, including business, further schooling and social life. (X = 2.92)
34. Develop a lasting desire for learning. (X = 2.80)	9. Learn to communicate their own ideas and feelings. (X = 2.77)
29. Learn to be analytical and logical in their thinking. (X = 2.67)	30. Develop personal goals. (X = 2.69)
24. Learn the English which will be needed in many different situations, including business, further schooling and social life. (X = 2.67)	29. Learn to be analytical and logical in their thinking. (X = 2.62)
21. Understand and appreciate the Canadian heritage, including that of all ethnic and racial groups. (X = 2.67)	17. Develop the potential for positive contributions to society. (X = 2.69)

LOWEST MEANS

CHINESE-CANADIAN	INDO-CANADIAN
*36. Understand the beliefs of at least one religion. (X = 1.40)	*36. Understand the beliefs of at least one religion. (X = 1.42)
*13. Learn their mother tongue if it is not in English or French. (X = 1.73)	5. Learn sports, hobbies and other forms of recreation. (X = 1.77)
5. Learn sports, hobbies and other forms of recreation. (X = 1.87)	28. Understand the biological facts of human reproduction. (X = 1.92)
	*13. Learn their mother tongue if it is not in English or French. (X = 1.92)

* Special concern drawn from interviews.

attitudes in this as a multicultural society.

Two of the items both groups valued the least (Goals 13 and 36) were special concerns. "Concerns" voiced in the interviews are not necessarily viewed as high priorities by the elites. The list of lowest means in Table 7 provides a significant finding regarding heritage languages. For both groups, one of the three lowest means given is Goal 13, learning the mother tongue. Since this was one of the special concerns and since this has been one of the foremost topics in the literature, such a low value on it when no ranking or priority was needed was unexpected. Respondents have not said that they value other goals more; they have clearly said they do not value this as a school goal very much. In both cases, the mean falls between the "of little importance" and the "of moderate importance" ratings. Only religion (Goal 36) ranks lower for both groups. The large number of children enrolled in Heritage Language Schools (after school and Saturdays) in Vancouver is evidence of the desire that children learn heritage languages. The respondents may support such a program strongly but not go so far as to say it should be an integrated part of the school program. Of the 36 goals listed, Number 13 is the only one which is relevant only to ethnic minorities, which would serve their interests alone and not provide substantial benefit to all children. In giving it a low value, the ethnic minority elites are avoiding making any request of the school system which caters only to their particular situation.

How satisfied are Chinese- and Indo-Canadian elites with the schools' performance? (Research question 3)

Table 8 shows how the respondents rated the performance of the schools on the same goal statements as those shown in Table 6. The most striking feature of these results is the overwhelmingly low ratings. The highest mean rating by either group was 3.58 (Goal 1), a rating between adequate and good. Both groups rated the schools relatively highly on Physical Fitness

Table 8
Goals of Education: Chinese-Canadian and Indo-Canadian Means
Schools' Performance Grades*

GOAL	Chinese-Canadians Mean (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians Mean (n = 13)
1. Value physical fitness and well-being and apply principles of health and safety in daily living	3.33	3.58
**2. Understand and appreciate their family heritage and roots	2.20	1.73
**3. Learn the life skills needed and resources available in this society dealing with banking, income tax, social and medical services, etc.	2.47	2.55
**4. Learn about the economic, political and judicial systems, as well as the social institutions of British Columbia and Canada	2.80	2.67
5. Learn sports, hobbies and other forms of recreation	3.57	3.42
6. Develop a personal code of ethics and moral values	2.00	2.50
7. Learn respect for the environment and learn to use natural resources responsibly	2.46	2.91
8. Learn both official languages	2.79	3.18
9. Learn to communicate their own ideas and feelings	3.20	2.83
**10. Respect other cultures and have an understanding of the interdependence people	2.40	1.92
11. Learn good manners and proper social conduct	2.27	2.42
12. Learn skills for specific jobs	3.15	2.82
**13. Learn their mother tongue if it is not English or French	1.50	1.78
**14. Develop a good memory	2.50	3.08
15. Learn to express themselves through forms such as music, writing, dance, film, etc.	2.83	2.91
16. Understand the nature of drug, alcohol and tobacco usage and the impact it has on mental and physical health	2.67	2.67
17. Develop the potential for positive contributions to society	2.29	2.82
18. Develop the ability to adapt to the changing demands of society	2.57	2.91
19. Learn to appreciate various forms of beauty and culture	2.64	2.73
20. Learn scientific principles and methods	2.87	3.08
21. Understand and appreciate the Canadian heritage, including that of all ethnic and racial groups	2.40	2.42

Table 8 - Continued

GOAL	Chinese-Canadians Mean (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians Mean (n = 13)
22. Learn the skills of family living such as homemaking, craftsmanship, money management.	2.87	3.0
**23. Learn about the race relations policies and legislation	2.14	2.27
24. Learn the English which will be needed in many different situations including business, further schooling and social life	2.86	3.58
25. Learn to do mathematical calculations	3.36	3.45
26. Develop a positive self-concept	2.77	2.89
27. Develop some sense of world community and of international goodwill	2.43	2.50
28. Understand the biological facts of human reproduction	2.87	3.0
29. Learn to be analytical and logical in their thinking	3.0	3.36
30. Develop personal goals	2.64	3.09
31. Learn to work co-operatively with others including those who dress, act and think differently	2.23	2.33
32. Learn to make socially responsible decisions	2.67	3.18
**33. Learn about various cultures of the world	2.67	2.42
34. Develop a lasting desire for learning	2.43	2.91
35. Learn how to make wise career choices	2.64	3.20
36. Understand the beliefs of at least one religion.	1.92	2.38

* Grades

Very good = 5
Good = 4
Adequate = 3
Poor = 2
Very poor = 1

** Special concern drawn from interview

(Goal 1) and Sports (Goal 5), all of which are over 3.0 (Adequate). But Goal 5 was one of the lowest in importance. This indicates a dissatisfaction with the present system, which is seen as doing a better job on something that is not valued highly than it is on things which are.

Both groups are more satisfied with mathematics (Goal 25) and sciences (Goal 20) than with most of the other goals. The results in Goal 13 (mother tongue) seem somewhat inflated since it is one which is not taught in any of the public schools; the school grades, however, are 1.50 and 1.78 (higher than "very poor").

The Indo-Canadians rated the school performance on English (Goal 24) relatively more highly than the Chinese-Canadians, and gave it one of the highest means (Table 9). The Indo-Canadians, who have a group mean of 2 (Adequate) or better on 12 of the goals, seem to feel somewhat more positive than the Chinese-Canadians, who have means this high on only 7. In only seven cases (Goals 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, and 33), were the Chinese-Canadians higher in their rating than the Indo-Canadians. There are no significant differences in any of the ratings, however; t-tests revealed none with a t value that is significant at p.=.05.

Table 9 compares the highest and lowest ratings for each group. There is considerable agreement in the two groups, for whom three of the lowest and three of the highest are the same. None in the highest group are goals which were drawn from the interviews, while three (38% of the special concerns) of those in the lowest group were. The special concerns were felt by many to be more poorly delivered in the school system than were other goals. Number 13 (mother tongue), 23 (race relations), and 21 (family heritage) are three of these concerns which are among the lowest rated for both groups. All three are topics not presently tackled in Ministry of Education curriculum. As seen in Table 6, none of these three were rated as one of the highest in importance,

Table 9
Goals of Education: Comparison of Highest and Lowest Means
Schools' Performance Grades

HIGHEST MEANS

CHINESE-CANADIAN

5. Learn sports, hobbies and other forms of recreation. (X = 3.57)

25. Learn to do mathematical calculations. (X = 3.36)

1. Value physical fitness and well-being and apply principles of health and safety in daily living. (X = 3.33)

20. Learn scientific principles and methods. (X = 3.31)

9. Learn to communicate their own ideas and feelings. (X = 3.20)

INDO-CANADIAN

1. Value physical fitness and well-being and apply principles of health and safety in daily living. (X = 3.58)

24. Learn the English which will be needed in many different situations, including business, further schooling and social life. (X = 3.58)

25. Learn to do mathematical calculations. (X = 3.45)

5. Learn sports, hobbies and other forms of recreation. (X = 3.42)

20. Learn scientific principles and methods. (X = 3.08)

29. Learn to be analytical and logical in their thinking. (X = 3.36)

LOWEST MEANS

*13. Learn their mother tongue if it is not English or French. (X = 1.50)

36. Understand the beliefs of at least one religion. (X = 1.92)

6. Develop a personal code of ethics and moral values. (X = 2.00)

*23. Learn about the race relations policies and legislation. (X = 2.14)

*2. Understand and appreciate their family heritage and roots. (X = 2.20)

*2. Understand and appreciate their family heritage and roots. (X = 1.73)

*13. Learn their mother tongue if it is not English or French. (X = 1.78)

10. Respect other cultures and have an understanding of the inter-dependence of people. (X = 1.92)

*23. Learn about the race relations policies and legislation. (X = 2.27)

31. Learn to work co-operatively with others, including those who dress, act, and think differently. (X = 2.33)

* Special concern drawn from interviews.

however: dissatisfaction with these is not as significant as dissatisfaction with priority goals. Not all of the lowest performance ratings were special concerns, an indication again of an overall dissatisfaction. Respondents are extremely dissatisfied with the schools' performance, not because of their individual and particular needs which are not being met, but because of a perception of universally low standards.

What are the improvements Chinese- and Indo-Canadian elites would like to see in the educational system? (Research question 4)

Table 10 presents respondents' decisions about the relative importance of various suggestions for improving the system, when asked to do a Q sort of the items. Each suggestion has a mean for each group and the means are ranked in order of importance. The 20 suggestions include eight special concerns raised in the interviews (Statements 1, 3, 6, 9, 13, 14, 17, and 19), so there are two types of items, these special concerns and more universal concerns. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the importance of these items. The two groups agree on only three out of the five statements which hold the top ranks (in rank order, Numbers 2, 13, 15, 17, and 7 for the Chinese-Canadian and, in rank order, Numbers 2, 17, 14, 11 and 13 for the Indo-Canadians).

Both groups place the highest values on stricter discipline (Number 2). This repeats a concern voiced often in the interviews, that schools are too liberal and permissive, that moral and social standards are lacking. For both groups, concern for another aspect of school climate ranks as or almost as high. In the case of the Indo-Canadians, one of the two most important improvements is Number 17 (respect for and understanding of cultural differences), while the second rank for the Chinese-Canadians is Number 13, which also deals with cultural differences, but in terms of the teachers'

Table 10
Quality of Public Education
Suggestions for Improvements: Importance
Means and Ranks

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)		Indo-Canadians (n = 13)	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
1.* Provide a pre-school program	3.71	16	4.50	8
2. Stricter discipline	5.20	1	5.15	1.5
3.* More information to parents about the school system and programs	4.69	6	4.08	10
4. More homework	4.07	12	2.92	18
5. More extra-curricular activities	3.14	17,18	3.46	17
6.* A multi-cultural focus in the curriculum	4.60	7	4.62	7
7. Raising academic standards	4.71	5	3.85	12
8. Improving the quality of school facilities	3.92	15	4.69	6
9.* More ESL programs	3.93	14	4.31	9
10. More library materials	4.00	13	3.54	15.5
11. More time to teaching basic skills	4.57	8	5.08	3.5
12. More options for secondary skills	3.14	17,18	3.85	12
13.* Increased sensitivity on the part of teachers to different ethnic and cultural groups	5.00	2	4.92	5
14.* Improved quality of materials on other cultures	4.23	11	5.08	3.5

Table 10 - Continued

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)		Indo-Canadians (n = 13)	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
15. More counselling help to students	4.93	3	3.54	15.5
16. Increase the length of the school day	2.29	19,20	2.17	19
17.* Develop a greater climate of respect for and understanding of cultural differences in school	4.73	4	5.15	1.5
18. Provide more chance for input from parents	4.36	10	3.62	14
19.* Help parents to understand this society so they can understand their children's behaviour and attitudes	4.50	9	3.85	12
20. Follow the standardized Ministry curriculum more strictly	2.29	19,20	2.08	20

* Special concerns drawn from interviews.

sensitivity. In Table 7, Goal 10 (respect for other cultures) was rated by the Chinese-Canadians as the most important goal, and in the top third by the Indo-Canadians. In Table 8, the same goal received the eighth and third lowest grades respectively on school performance. A climate of recognition of and respect for the multicultural nature of Canadian society is clearly of great importance to both groups, and an area in which schools are seen to be doing a poor job. An improvement in school climate is more needed than changes in the curriculum focus (Number 6) or ESL programs (Number 9), two of the special concerns often raised in the literature.

The top five suggestions are not exclusively special concerns, but only two of the five for the Chinese-Canadians (Numbers 13 and 19) and three for the Indo-Canadians (Numbers 17, 14 and 13). Neither group is worried about aspects of education relating to multiculturalism and ethnic differences to the exclusion of other problems which they see as equally or more fundamental. Both groups ranked ESL programs (Number 9) lower than they did time on basic skills (Number 11).

Table 11 shows the results of t-tests on the means. Only three, Numbers 4, 14 and 15, have significant differences at $p = .05$. The Chinese value more homework (Number 4) and more counselling (Number 15) more than the Indo-Canadians. The Indo-Canadians give more importance to improved material on other cultures (Number 14). Only Number 14 is a special concern; on the seven others, there is no significant difference in the rating.

Table 12 presents those statements where there was a gross difference in the ranks assigned in the two groups, arbitrarily set as a full quarter, that is, five (e.g. from rank 1 to rank 6). Eight statements of the total of 20 show such a difference. In Table 1, dealing with the importance of school goal statements, only one of 16 statements showed this gross difference (of a full quarter) between the ranks of the two groups. There is clearly more agreement

Table 11
Quality of Public Education
Suggestions for Improvements
Significance of Differences in Means

	MEANS		t value	p.
	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians (n = 13)		
1.* Provide a pre-school program	3.71	4.50	-1.17	.25
2. Stricter discipline	5.20	5.15	0.07	.95
3.* More information to parents about the school system and programs	4.69	4.08	1.94	.06
4. More homework	4.07	2.92	2.06	**.05**
5. More extra-curricular activities	3.14	3.46	-0.77	.45
6.* A multi-cultural focus in the curriculum	4.60	4.62	-0.04	.97
7. Raising academic standards	4.71	3.85	1.42	.17
8. Improving the quality of school facilities	3.92	4.69	-1.39	.18
9.* More ESL programs	3.93	4.31	-0.99	.33
10. More library materials	4.00	3.54	0.89	.38
11. More time to teaching basic skills	4.57	5.08	-1.09	.29
12. More options for secondary skills	3.14	3.85	-1.74	.09
13.* Increased sensitivity on the part of teachers to different ethnic and cultural groups	5.00	4.92	.19	.85
14.* Improved quality of materials on other cultures	4.23	5.08	-2.91	**.01**

Table 11 - Continued

	MEANS		t value	p.
	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians (n = 13)		
15. More counselling help to students	4.93	3.54	3.54	**.002**
16. Increase the length of the school day	2.29	2.17	.27	.79
17.* Develop a greater climate of respect for and understanding of cultural differences in school	4.73	5.15	-0.96	.35
18. Provide more chance for input from parents	4.36	3.62	1.75	.09
19.* Help parents to understand this society so they can understand their children's behaviour and attitudes	4.50	3.85	1.24	.23
20. Follow the standardized Ministry curriculum more strictly	2.29	2.08	.45	.65

Table 12

Quality of Public Education: Suggestions for Improvements

Gross Differences in Ranks of Importance

Chinese Canadians Rank Higher than Indo-Canadians

15. More counselling help to students (difference in ranks = 12)

7. Raising academic standards (difference in ranks = 7)

4.* More homework (difference in ranks = 6)

Indo-Canadians Rank Higher than Chinese-Canadians

8. Improving the quality of school facilities (difference in ranks = 9)

1.* Provide a pre-school program (difference in ranks = 8)

14.* Improved quality of materials on other cultures (difference in ranks = 7)

9.* More ESL programs (difference in ranks = 5)

12. More options for secondary students (difference in ranks = 5)

* Special concerns drawn from interviews.

on what schools should be teaching and on the level of performance of the schools (Table 8) than there is on how best to improve the quality of education. There is a gross difference in ranks of four of the eight special concerns, again showing no significantly greater agreement on these than on other goals.

Chinese-Canadians see more benefit from more homework (Number 4), higher academic standards (Number 7) and more counselling help (Number 15) than would the Indo-Canadians. Numbers 4 and 7 reflect differences between the two groups in cultural values and attitudes toward schooling. Chinese-Canadians stress the Intellectual dimension (found in Table 7). Number 15 may reflect the fact that the Indo-Canadian elites who came here as immigrants have been educated in the British system, while the Chinese-Canadians are not as familiar with this system and, therefore, less able to guide children. It may also be that Indo-Canadians see counselling as the job of the family and do not expect schools to provide this to the same extent. One group sees an extreme need (the Chinese-Canadians ranked it third highest), while the other group sees little need at all (the Indo-Canadians ranked it one of the two lowest).

The Indo-Canadians are more concerned than the Chinese-Canadians with better facilities (Number 8), with pre-school (Number 1), with the quality of material on other cultures (Number 14), with more options for secondary students (Number 12), and with more ESL programs (Number 9). None of these five can be done or provided by parents in the home, if the pre-school is seen as a place which allows for some interaction with other children in English. There seems to be no obvious interpretation to the differences in Numbers 8 & 12. The great differences in Numbers 1, 9, and 14 might be accounted for by the fact that Indo-Canadians are a relatively new group in Canada. ESL programs and pre-school therefore deemed more essential by this group. Because one judges best and is most concerned with the materials on one's own culture,

Number 14 measures primarily the amount of dissatisfaction with materials on one's own ethnic group. Indo-Canadians see much more of a problem here than do the Chinese-Canadians. Since, as a group, they have not been here as long, Indo-Canadians are not as understood by the community at large and suffer from more overt racism. As a result, they are more concerned with the quality of materials on their culture.

What are the views of Chinese- and Indo-Canadian elites on major issues of 1984: budget cuts (Research question 5)

In a study conducted in School District 71 (Courtenay, Vancouver Island) in 1984, Kerr (Note 1) surveyed the opinions of a random sample of residents, including parents with children in school, parents with children in pre-school, parents with children finished school, and non-parents. Some of the questionnaire items dealing with current issues were used in this study to provide a comparison of responses between the ethnic minority elites and a cross-sectional survey. These items do not include the special concerns of ethnic minorities, such as ESL programs, home-school workers, etc. which relate specifically to the needs of English as a second language students and families.

Table 13 presents the three most frequent responses for all groups, when asked to select five items (from a list of 14) which could be cut from school board budgets without seriously affecting the quality of education. There is considerable agreement both within and between the two studies. The Chinese-Canadians and Indo-Canadians agree with each other on two of the three choices. Of these two, one is not shown in any of the Courtenay groups, that being Number 4, janitorial and maintenance services. Of the 20 items, this is the one least directly affecting the students, all others dealing with programs in some way.

Table 13
Items Which Could Be Cut*
Frequencies of Three Most Frequent Responses

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians (n = 13)	(1) Courtenay Parents** (n = 146)	(2) Courtenay Parents** (n = 19)	(3) Courtenay Parents** (n = 80)	Courtenay Non-parents (n = 31)
1. Reducing the number of teachers by increasing the class size						
2. Reducing special services (such as speech, reading and hearing therapy)						
3. Reducing elementary French programs			89	11	43	18
4. Cutting back janitorial and maintenance services of facilities and grounds	11	9				
5. Cutting back on library expenditures						
6. Eliminating free textbook issue						13
7. Eliminating computer education programs						
8. Cutting all teachers' salaries by a certain percentage						
9. Eliminating kindergarten						
10. Eliminating out of district school activities (sports trips, band trips)		9	80	8	55	13
11. Shortening the school year by one month						
12. Eliminating Grade 12 and shortening the number of years in school						
13. Reducing the Elementary Music program	10					
14. Eliminating the free use of school facilities by community groups	14	8	98	15	40	

* Questionnaire item:
Which of these items could be cut because the quality of education would not be seriously affected? (choose only five)

** Courtenay Parents (1) - Parents with children in school
Courtenay Parents (2) - Parents with children in pre-school
Courtenay Parents (3) - Parents with children finished school

The other major difference between the Courtenay groups and the ethnic minority elites lies in Number 3, the elementary French program. For all four Courtenay groups, this was first or second priority in terms of what could be cut. Nine of the Chinese-Canadians (n = 15), but only three of the Indo-Canadians (n = 13), felt this could be cut at all and for neither group was it one of the three most acceptable cuts. There is, then, more (though not unanimous) support for this program among both ethnic minority groups, but particularly the Indo-Canadians. This difference could be a reflection of four major differences between the Courtenay groups and the Indo-Canadians: 1) the Indo-Canadians are educational elites in the ethnic community; 2) School District 41 (Courtenay) is largely a rural area, while the GVRD is an urban one; 3) the Anglo-French tensions which have been prevalent in British Columbia and in Canada are not shared by the ethnic minority groups; 4) Indo-Canadians have roots in a culture where more than one language are commonly spoken.

Table 14 presents the choices most often made for "what should not be cut". The most frequent responses here indicate a higher level of support for the item than for the others listed. Here again, the views of the two ethnic minority groups find agreement in the Courtenay groups. There is the most support by all for the continuation of special services - Number 2 is one of the top three for all six groups. Five of the six groups, including both ethnic minorities, place a high priority on not increasing class size (Number 1). For all groups, either Number 11 or 12 is in the top three in the "should not be cut" category. Both items deal, in different ways, with cutting the amount of schooling provided. Both minority groups value Kindergarten (Number 9) more than three of the Courtenay groups. For many children from ethnic minority homes, Kindergarten is the first introduction to an only-English speaking environment; so it may take on an added dimension and greater

Table 14
Items Which Should Not Be Cut*
Frequencies of Most Frequent Responses

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians (n = 13)	(1) Courtenay Parents** (n = 146)	(2) Courtenay Parents** (n = 19)	(3) Courtenay Parents** (n = 80)	Courtenay Non-parents (n = 31)
1. Reducing the number of teachers by increasing the class size	10	9	110	11		21
2. Reducing special services (such as speech, reading and hearing therapy)	11	8	104	17	52	17
3. Reducing elementary French programs						
4. Cutting back janitorial and maintenance services of facilities and grounds						
5. Cutting back on library expenditures						
6. Eliminating free textbook issue						
7. Eliminating computer education programs						18
8. Cutting all teachers' salaries by a certain percentage						
9. Eliminating kindergarten	10	9			38	
10. Eliminating out of district school activities (sports trips, band trips)						
11. Shortening the school year by one month		8				
12. Eliminating Grade 12 and shortening the number of years in school	11		91	11	41	
13. Reducing the Elementary Music program						
14. Eliminating the free use of school facilities by community groups						

* Questionnaire item:
Which of these items should not be cut because the quality of education would be seriously affected? (choose only five)

** Courtenay Parents (1) - Parents with children in school
Courtenay Parents (2) - Parents with children in pre-school
Courtenay Parents (3) - Parents with children finished school

importance than for other children. The Chinese-Canadians, while they see Kindergarten as valuable, did not see pre-school as a priority improvement (Table 10), and ranked it lowest in importance. Of the 20 items listed, all groups agree that the last to be touched should be class size (Number 1), special services (Number 2), Kindergarten (Number 9) and the amount of schooling provided (Numbers 11 and 12). More people would rather see music programs (Number 13), elementary French (Number 3), or computer education (Number 7) programs cut than see class sizes increase, or special services cut. These results may indicate a rejection of the actual restraint program which is forcing cuts in precisely these areas - class sizes are increasing generally and special services are being cut or are threatened in many school boards.

Tables 15 and 16 present some measure of intra-group agreement on each item. Since respondents were asked to pick five in each of two categories (could be cut and should not be cut), they were required to make definite decisions about a total of ten items, leaving only four which fall between the two extreme views. Where all the responses appear as either a "could be cut" or "should not be cut", there is more agreement within the group than where some responses fall in each category, some thinking it definitely could be cut and some thinking it definitely should not be cut.

The Chinese-Canadians agreed on nine of the 14 (Table 15) where agreement means all opinions, or all but one, are in one category. None of them value maintenance services (Number 4) and the free use of school facilities (Number 14) as highly as other items. There is unanimous agreement that special services (Number 2), computer education (Number 7), Kindergarten (Number 9), shortening the length of schooling (Numbers 11 and 12) should not be cut. Although elementary French (Number 3) was not one of the top three for "could be cut", it was still very high, with nine people putting it in that category. The least agreement is seen in Numbers 5 (library

Table 15

Possible Budget Cuts: What could be cut and what should not be cut
Frequency of responses of Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)

	Could Be Cut*	Should Not Be Cut**
1. Teachers (by increasing the class size)	2	10
2. Special services	0	11
3. Elementary French programs	9	3
4. Janitorial and maintenance services of facilities and grounds	11	0
5. Library expenditures	6	5
6. Free textbook issue	7	3
7. Computer education programs	0	7
8. Teachers' salaries	4	4
9. Kindergarten	0	10
10. Out of district school activities (sports trips, band trips)	8	1
11. Length of the school year (reduce by one month)	1	9
12. Grade 12 and the number of years in school	0	11
13. Elementary Music Program	10	1
14. Free use of school facilities by community groups	14	0

* Questionnaire item:

Which of these items could be cut without seriously affecting the quality of education? (choose only five)

** Questionnaire item:

Which of these items should not be cut because the quality of education would be seriously affected? (choose only five)

expenditure) and Number 8 (teachers' salaries), with as many or almost as many in each category.

Table 16 presents the same information for the Indo-Canadians, where there is less agreement, on only six of the 14 items. The two items which all people clearly support with no dissension are Kindergarten (Number 9) and computer programs (Number 7). There is also no disagreement over Elementary Music (Number 6), out of district activities (Number 9), free use of school facilities (Number 14), and maintenance services (Number 4) - all who take a definite position on these agreed they could be cut. The items where there is least agreement are Number 3 (French program), Number 5 (library expenditure) and Number 6 (free texts).

Table 17 presents the reactions to the financial cuts made in 1983 by the provincial government. There is opposition from both the Chinese- and Indo-Canadians to the reduction in financial support for school boards, stronger opposition than that found in Courtenay. 93.3% of the Chinese-Canadians and 84.6% of the Indo-Canadians showed either moderate or strong opposition; only 56.9% of respondents in Courtenay show the same.

Table 18 provides more information on the same issue, that of spending for education. Both the Chinese-Canadians (86.7%) and Indo-Canadians (84.6%) are prepared to see an increase in spending in order to maintain educational services. While the majority of Courtenay respondents also support such an increase, the percentage (62.8%) is lower by over 20%.

The two tables taken together show that the views of the two ethnic elites are closer to each other than either one is to the Courtenay response. They not only dislike the budget cuts; they are prepared to see an increase in spending, indicating a stronger commitment to the educational system than the Courtenay groups. Ethnic minorities may have the most to lose by the cuts and the most to gain through a good educational system: cuts have meant a

Table 16

Possible Budget Cuts: What could be cut and what should not be cut
Frequency of responses of Indo-Canadians (n = 13)

	Could Be Cut*	Should Not Be Cut**
1. Teachers (by increasing the class size)	2	9
2. Special services	4	8
3. Elementary French programs	3	3
4. Janitorial and maintenance services of facilities and grounds	9	1
5. Library expenditures	4	5
6. Free textbook issue	4	4
7. Computer education programs	1	7
8. Teachers' salaries	4	2
9. Kindergarten	0	9
10. Out of district school activities (sports trips, band trips)	9	0
11. Length of the school year (reduce by one month)	2	8
12. Grade 12 and the number of years in school	4	6
13. Elementary Music Program	6	0
14. Free use of school facilities by community groups	8	1

* Questionnaire item:

Which of these items could be cut without seriously affecting the quality of education? (choose only five)

** Questionnaire item:

Which of these items should not be cut because the quality of education would be seriously affected? (choose only five)

Table 17

Reaction to Financial Cuts*

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians (n = 13)	Courtenay Study (n = 276)
Strongly support	1 (6.7%)	1 (7.7%)	34 (12.3%)
Support moderately	0	1 (7.7%)	74 (26.8%)
Oppose moderately	5 (33.3%)	1 (7.7%)	41 (14.9%)
Oppose strongly	9 (60%)	10 (76.9%)	116 (42.0%)
No opinion	0	0	11 (4.0%)

* Questionnaire item:

During 1983, the provincial government reduced its financial support for the public school system. What is your reaction to these cuts?

Table 18

Reaction to Proposed Increase in Spending*

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians (n = 13)	Courtenay Study (n = 276)
Support	13 (86.7%)	11 (84.6%)	176 (63.8%)
Oppose	1 (6.7%)	2 (15.4%)	74 (26.8%)
No opinion	1 (6.7%)	0	26 (9.4%)

* Questionnaire item:

It would take an increase of 3% in B.C. spending in education in 1984 to maintain educational services at the same levels as 1983. Do you support or oppose such an increase?

reduction in ESL programs, in home-school workers, in teachers' aides, etc., the services badly needed by English as a second language speakers and in multicultural classrooms. Education has traditionally been seen as the vehicle for upward mobility in immigrant groups; immigrant parents are often willing to accept their own loss of occupational and social status for the sake of the additional educational opportunities their children have here. Both the Chinese and the East Indian cultures have traditionally placed a high value on education (Wong, 1982; Bancroft, 1976). Finally, the GVRD study is comprised solely of educational elites, while the Courtenay study was drawn from a cross-section of adults in the community.

What are the views of Chinese-Canadian and Indo-Canadian elites on major issues in 1984: province-wide exams (Research question 5)

Table 19, dealing with the opinions on province-wide exams, shows general agreement between Chinese-Canadians, Indo-Canadians and Courtenay residents on this question. The vast majority think that the exams should be given, that they should count for 50% or less. A higher percentage of Courtenay residents (40.9%) would maintain the status quo, that is, have them count for 50%. The two ethnic groups were more ready to suggest change (60% of Chinese-Canadians and 76.9% of Indo-Canadians). This may be a reflection of their elite status, or their familiarity with educational issues and a more critical attitude toward the system. The Chinese-Canadians in Table 10 gave a high ranking to the need to raise academic standards in order to improve the quality of education. Their opinion on the province-wide exams would indicate they do not see standardized exams as a way of doing this. (If they saw standardized exams as an important means of accomplishing this, they would have supported them counting as 50% or more.)

Table 19

Opinions on Province-Wide Exams*

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians (n = 13)	Courtenay Study (n = 276)
Should not be given	0	2 (15.4%)	20 (7.2%)
Not count as part of the final grade	0	1 (7.7%)	21 (7.6%)
Count for less than 50%	9 (60%)	7 (53.8%)	101 (36.6%)
Count for 50%	5 (33.3%)	3 (23.1%)	113 (40.9%)
Count for more than 50%	0	0	19 (6.9%)
No response	1 (6.7%)	0	2 (.7%)

* Questionnaire item:

The provincial government has re-introduced province-wide exams in academic subjects for Grade 12. These exams will count for 50% of students' final mark or grade. Do you think these examinations should . . .

What are the views of Chinese-Canadian and Indo-Canadian elites on major educational issues in 1984: teachers' right to strike (Research question 5)

Of all the questions presented on educational issues, the one on teachers' right to strike (Table 20) showed the least agreement within each group, with an equal number of each group voting "yes" and "no". There was inter-group similarity in this lack of agreement. The Courtenay group has somewhat more agreement, with a majority against the right to stirke, but not an overwhelming one. The number of "Don't know" responses is also indicative of the ambiguity and confusion surrounding this question for numbers of people in all three groups. (Only one "No opinion" was registered for both groups in the question on increase in spending in Table 19 by comparison.) This was the most overtly political of the questions on school issues.

Table 20

Opinions On Teachers' Right To Strike

	Chinese-Canadians (n = 15)	Indo-Canadians (n = 13)	Courtenay Study (n = 276)
Yes	7 (46.7%)	5 (38.5%)	81 (29.3%)
No	7 (46.7%)	5 (38.5%)	174 (63.0%)
Don't know	1 (6.7%)	3 (23.1%)	21 (7.6%)

* Questionnaire item:

Should public school teachers be permitted to strike?

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

> In summary, multicultural education, as I see it, means competence in the mainstream culture as well as in particular ethnocultures in your community. Multicultural education should promote the freedom to practise one's own culture and socialize in that culture as well as the right to share in the economic and civic rights of the community. (Cafik, 1978, p. 21)

The respondents in this study would agree with Cafik, a former Minister of State for Multiculturalism. They too ask from the school system that children be taught primarily to be "competent in the mainstream" as well as that their distinct ethnocultural background be recognized and respected. It is only in fulfilling these two goals that society can ensure that all ethnic groups share equally in the desired "economic and civic rights". Cafik's wording, "promote the freedom to practise one's own culture" is consistent, too, with the lack of evidence in this study of a desire that heritage language and culture be taught in schools. The ethnic minority elites are looking for support and attitudinal changes in and through the schools rather than specific programs which would serve only them. While asking for recognition of a distinct heritage, they do not ask that schools play a direct role in maintaining that heritage. This study echoes the recommendations of the Work Group on Multicultural Programs (1975) in Toronto, which asked for sensitivity on the part of the school, a multicultural focus in the curriculum, and attention to the issue of discrimination in the schools.

These results are not in keeping, however, with much of the literature on multicultural education, which stresses study of cultural heritage and rarely takes up "competence in the mainstream" viewing ethnic minorities as much more disadvantaged in the school system than did the elites in this study. This can be attributed to the fact that the multicultural education literature often does not address the question of the social class and educational background of the parents and its impact on children's schooling. Problems faced by ethnic

minorities, such as low achievement levels, home-school gaps, are related solely to their ethnicity and no distinction is made between the situations of different social classes (Wolfgang, 1975). So a study such as this one, dealing with an elite group only, does not have findings consistent with much of the literature, which deals implicitly or directly with a lower socio-economic class. The largest barriers between the elites and success are not seen to be problems with the school program which are peculiar to them as different ethnocultural groups, but the prevailing attitudes in the society. Their desire for competence, then, is accompanied by a desire for an educational system which "promotes" the respect for diversity, an attitude which would allow them equal opportunity.

Darroch (1979) pointed out that the inequalities due to ethnic origin are not greater than the inequalities faced by women, or those in poorer regions of the country. In none of this study's interviews was there concern voiced that the minority groups are less able to achieve success in school, although there was recognition of certain problems specific to them, such as the need for better counselling, more ESL classes, the difficulty in the home-school communications. Anderson and Frideres (1981) found that Asian groups, in fact, ranked high in achievement levels, next to those with origins in the British Isles and those of Jewish background. This provides another reason why the special concerns raised in this study all deal with problems in programs and materials rather than problems which ethnic minorities have succeeding in the present school program. While there was a high level of dissatisfaction apparent in this study, there was no complaint about the lack of opportunity in the educational system for minorities. The complaint is, rather, with what is seen to be a lack of high standards generally. The elites place a high value on education and feel the system is, rather than academically too hard on the students, not hard enough. These elites are not worried about the achievement

levels of their children; their support for province-wide exams and a demand for higher standards indicate they do not feel disadvantaged by the system.

There is a distinction being made between structural assimilation, which is an accepted long range goal and cultural assimilation, which is not. These elites desired first and foremost good communication skills in English, which are important in achieving professional status and upward mobility in this society. They would not accept the loss of computer education programs due to financial cuts, computer literacy being another of the necessities for the educated person in almost any field, as well as being one of the more promising fields itself. They do not desire special curriculum, nor do they place a priority on heritage language instruction. They are seeking primarily success in the existing programs. The concern for the school climate, that it be one where cultural differences are accepted and respected, however, indicates they do not expect to sacrifice those differences for the sake of economic success and social status.

While much of the literature in multicultural education takes a cultural minority advocacy role, and encourages heritage language programs, the respondents in this study are more pragmatic. At this point, British Columbia is not structurally a pluralistic society. Success calls for successful integration publically into existing codes and institutions. While others may debate what Canada should be and how to get it there, the elites are preoccupied with ensuring the best possible living standard and social position for the next generation. In the quest for social position and equality, they avoid the mobility trap described by Wiley (cited in Kringas and Lewins, 1980). They do not want to be ghettoized or trapped in a parallel power structure; they seek success in the mainstream. These results are consistent with the self-interest views of Patterson (1975).

Ethnic resilience is not a goal of choice for either Chinese- or Indo-

Canadians. As visible minorities, their ethnicity remains evident and resilient. What does vary and change, however, is the attitude toward their distinct background and race. People have the choice of asking for recognition of the cultural differences or downplaying these differences and stressing their adoption of the majority culture. While there are members of ethnic minorities who take the latter position, who do not participate in an ethnic community, the educational elites in this study were drawn only from those well-known in their ethnic group. Both the interviews and the rankings on desired improvements show no desire on their part to erase their distinctiveness. They wish to see schools help ethnic minority children to identify themselves as a distinctive ethnocultural group by providing a climate of respect for cultural differences. There was a suggestion in some interviews that children are too responsive to peer and media pressures and are assimilating too well, to too great an extent. The peer culture of Greater Vancouver is not seen by this group to be a multicultural one, a mosaic, but, for their children, is the more homogeneous American teen culture portrayed in film and the media.

This desire for recognition, however, is no threat to social unity, as is feared by the anti-pluralists. Firstly, the views of the ethnic minority elites on school goals turned out to be very similar to the West Vancouverites; there was no apparent pluralism at this philosophical level. A second point is that neither of these ethnic groups share in the history of antipathy between the French and English in Canada, which has been in the past the one recognized threat to national unity. Both the Chinese- and Indo-Canadians were more in favour of French instruction than the comparison group. They showed more support for French programs than they did for other mother tongue instruction. In this sense, either of these groups poses less of a threat than do either of the sides of the French-Anglo dispute. The value placed on Goal 5 (social

harmony) indicates, too, a conscious desire to protect unity. Finally, there was no evidence in either the interviews or questionnaire results (the open-ended questions) of a desire for structural change or separate educational structures, which would fragment the school system. The changes desired were all within the present system. Only one desire for change which involves structural reform in education was apparent -- the Indo-Canadians placed a high value on pre-school. Satisfying this desire would mean adding to the present system rather than changing what is presently in place; this has already been implemented in some community schools. Some have questioned the development of double loyalties. But in this study, the Indo-Canadians placed more value on "loyalty to Canada and the Canadian way of life" than did the West Vancouver parents and educators. Schools clearly do not have to fear that responsiveness to this group would somehow be part of a process to erode the social fabric or social unity.

Although this study found a high level of agreement in the views of the ethnic minority elites and other cross-sectional groups, they as a group do have concerns which are special. The elites are asking that schools play a part in the development of this as a multicultural society, in the fostering of respect for and understanding of the plurality of cultures. They are asking for changes which will foster universal acceptance of pluralism in the society and equality between all cultural groups. It is not only ethnic minorities who seek this, but since they are the groups most adversely affected by the lack of such values, it is natural that they be strong supporters and promoters of multicultural education. Satisfying the special concerns of these elites has serious implications for changes in teacher training programs, which would need to ensure that all courses relate to the multicultural classroom, and provide some knowledge and understanding of cultural differences.

School boards which make a conscious effort to hire more teachers who are members of ethnic minorities may be satisfying their sense of responsibility to ethnic minorities but they are not addressing the question raised by respondents here: teachers' knowledge of the various cultures in the classroom, respect for and sensitivity to them; providing a Chinese-Canadian teacher for a predominantly Chinese-Canadian class does not necessarily accomplish what is desired: a climate of understanding and respect for cultural differences.

The similarity in the views of these two elites is striking. Since their cultural backgrounds are quite different, this must stem from their similar social position (ethnic minority elites) and social goals. Both are well-educated members of their ethnic groups who are fluent in English and have achieved some measure of success in Canada. In his study of educational belief in different areas in Canada, Downey found that occupation and the amount of schooling were better predictors of such beliefs than were age, race or religion (cited in Saxe, 1975, p. 118). The level of agreement between the two elites was consistently high except on the question of how to improve education. Agreement is higher at the abstract, philosophical level than at the level of specific changes which should be implemented.

While the views of the two elite groups were similar, they were not consistent with the literature. One implication of this for future research is that studies need to be less generalised. We cannot talk of the problems or educational needs of ethnic minorities or immigrants as a group, but must distinguish social class and educational background. The literature does not generalise to the point of treating all minority groups as part of some "third element"; there is some effort to define separate groups according to separate cultures. Downey (1960) and this study indicate investigations of public views on educational goals must also deal with different social class groups.

There is ample literature available on multicultural education, on programs and materials which teach a curriculum reflective of the present social reality, and which deal with the implications of cultural differences in the students. Such materials now belong to the special field called multicultural education. The desires voiced by the respondents in this study for sensitivity on the part of the teachers, the teaching of respect and understanding for different cultures, are not likely to be fulfilled until all education is seen as multicultural, and what is now a speciality moves into the mainstream of education.

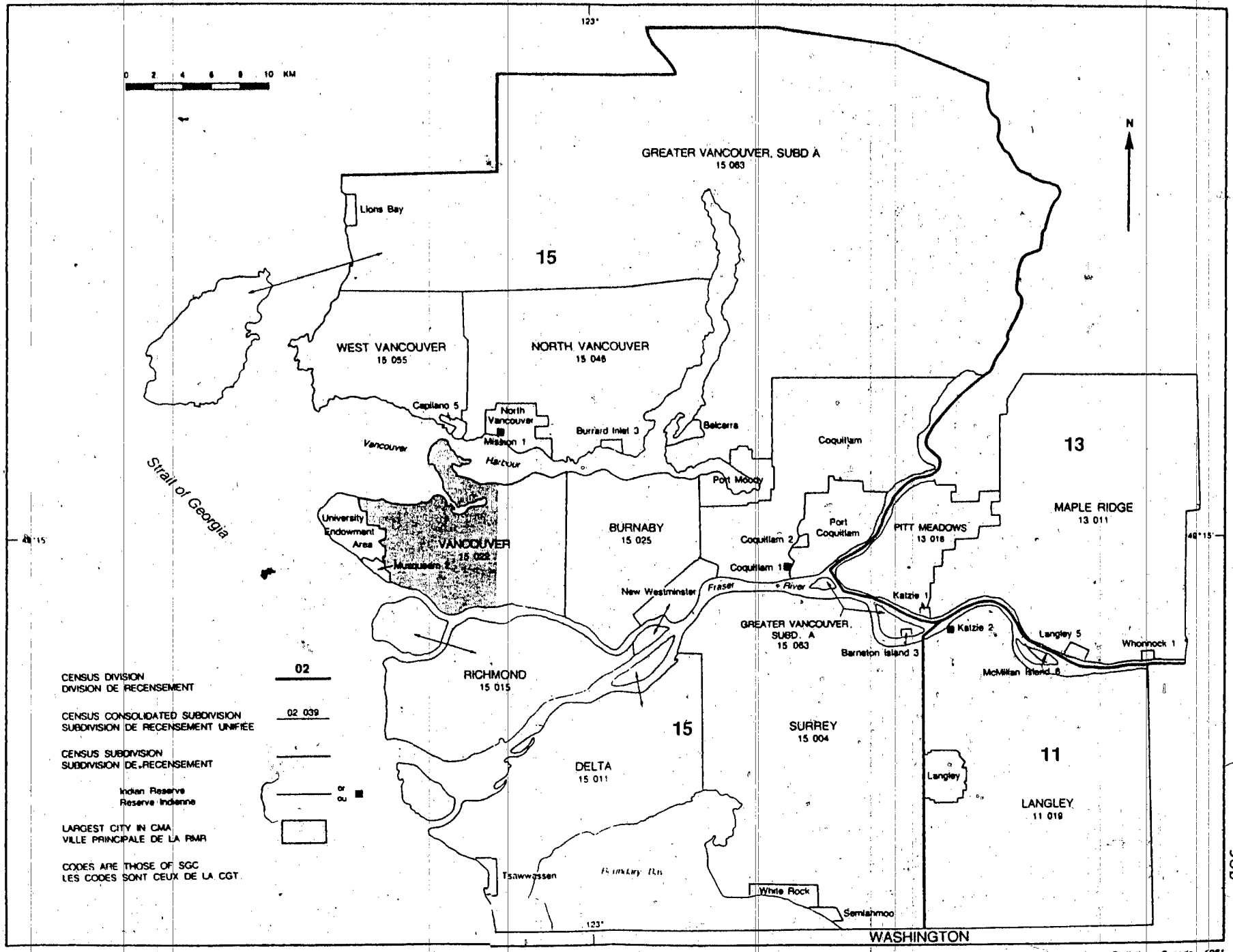
Appendix A

Immigration by Calendar Year, 1852 - 1982

1852	29,307	1886	69,152	1920	138,824	1954	154,227
1853	29,464	1887	84,526	1921	91,728	1955	109,946
1854	37,263	1888	88,766	1922	64,224	1956	164,857
1855	25,296	1889	91,600	1923	133,729	1957	282,164
1856	22,544	1890	75,067	1924	124,164	1958	124,851
1857	33,854	1891	82,165	1925	84,907	1959	106,928
1858	12,339	1892	30,996	1926	135,982	1960	104,111
1859	6,300	1893	29,633	1927	158,886	1961	71,689
1860	6,276	1894	20,829	1928	166,783	1962	74,586
1861	13,589	1895	18,790	1929	164,993	1963	93,151
1862	18,294	1896	16,835	1930	104,806	1964	112,606
1863	21,000	1897	21,716	1931	27,530	1965	146,758
1864	24,779	1898	31,900	1932	20,591	1966	194,743
1865	18,958	1899	44,543	1933	14,382	1967	222,876
1866	11,427	1900	41,681	1934	12,476	1968	183,974
1867	10,666	1901	55,747	1935	11,277	1969	161,531
1868	12,765	1902	89,102	1936	11,643	1970	147,713
1869	18,630	1903	138,660	1937	15,101	1971	121,900
1870	24,706	1904	131,252	1938	17,244	1972	122,006
1871	27,773	1905	141,465	1939	16,994	1973	184,200
1872	36,578	1906	211,653	1940	11,324	1974	218,465
1873	50,050	1907	272,409	1941	9,329	1975	187,881
1874	39,373	1908	143,326	1942	7,576	1976	149,429
1875	27,382	1909	173,694	1943	8,504	1977	114,914
1876	25,633	1910	286,839	1944	12,801	1978	86,313
1877	27,082	1911	331,288	1945	22,722	1979	112,096
1878	29,807	1912	375,756	1946	71,719	1980	143,117
1879	40,492	1913	400,870	1947	64,127	1981	128,618
1880	38,505	1914	150,484	1948	125,414	1982	121,147
1881	47,991	1915	36,665	1949	95,217		
1882	112,458	1916	55,914	1950	73,912		
1883	133,624	1917	72,910	1951	194,391		
1884	103,824	1918	41,845	1952	164,498		
1885	79,169	1919	107,698	1953	168,868		

(Minister of Supply and Services, 1984)

Appendix B: Greater Vancouver Regional District Boundaries



Produced by Statistics Canada, 1981
Préparé par Statistique Canada, 1981

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

A. Introduction, warm-up.

Purpose of interview - help with questionnaire on goals, issues.

Family, history in Canada, etc.

Anonymity of study informants and respondants.

B. Explanation of study.

Questionnaire - construction, administration, analysis.

Goals and priority goals, other issues related to schools.

C. Parameters.

When we talk about kids in school, we will mean _____ Can. kids in both elementary and secondary schools. When we talk about what they should learn, we will mean what all kids should learn by the end of Grade 12, not what kids might learn through various optional programs. That is, what are the essentials for everyone to learn.

First generation and others.

D. Importance of the research.

E. Questions?

Do you think schools here prepare ____-Can. students well for their future life here?

What do they not get in schools which would help them?

Do they need special programs apart from ESL classes? (first gen.).

What about others? - second generation, etc.

ESL teachers across the country have indicated in a survey that the major problem facing their students is not actually language but the

cultural adjustment they face. Do you agree? Where are the major difficulties in this adjustment?

What could schools be doing to ease this adjustment?

F. Let's talk about the major purpose of schooling. Is it to prepare kids for their adult life in this country? What else?

How is this different for ____-Can. kids than for other kids?

What are the signs of an educated person for you?

What aspects of education do you think are missed in our schools? or neglected? What aspects do you find particularly good for ____-Can.?

Would you be in favour of separate public schools in Vancouver for ____-Can.?

G. First area of educational goals -- knowledge and intellectual skills.

What kinds of knowledge are most important for kids to learn in school?

H. Self-development and Values.

One of the other areas we often talk about is the personal development of the child, that is, his or her moral, physical, social development.

Comments on this aspect of education:

What conflicts do you see between the development encouraged by the home and that encouraged by the school? (What problems does that create? How can we solve them?)

Is pride in heritage important to you? How should schools deal with that? What is the situation now as far as you know?

I. Social

Schools are social institutions; they train students to be part of the society. What skills do kids need to learn?

Do the kids tend to live in two societies? Is there conflict between acceptable social behaviour in two cultures?

J. Vocational and Productive Skills.

Schools have tended to have a very practical function in teaching practical skills -- there are many vocational programs offered in the schools, for instance. Should schools prepare kids for jobs or is this better done in the workplace?

Apart from job training, are there practical skills for everyday living that should be taught in the schools?

Appendix D: Covering Letter

SFU
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY, BURNABY, B.C. CANADA V5A 1S6 291-3111

June 8, 1984

Dear _____,

Some time ago, I spoke with you on the telephone about a study I am doing to determine the views of Chinese-Canadians in the Vancouver area on education. I have now interviewed several people and drawn up a questionnaire which includes the points they raised. (These are found under Goals of Public Education: Part II; Goals of Public Education: Part I is a standard list used in such studies.)

I have already taken some of your time on the phone, and appreciate your co-operation. If you agree to fill out the questionnaire and mail it back to me in the enclosed envelope, I promise not to bother you again! Since I am sending this to only a small number of people, my study will be a success only if everyone mails it back. The data collected will be useful and available to those like yourself who are involved in the community. A summary of results will be available to you in the fall.

There is no name attached to your questionnaire; all responses will be anonymous. I have enclosed a small card on which you are to indicate you have mailed in the questionnaire. By signing and mailing the card separately, you guard the anonymity of your responses while at the same time allowing me to know who has responded.

If there are any questions or difficulties, please do not hesitate to phone me at 874-0642.

Thank you very much for your help!

Yours sincerely,

Linda Ironside
Graduate Student (Education)

Appendix E: Questionnaire

WHAT SHOULD KIDS BE LEARNING IN SCHOOL?...

AND OTHER QUESTIONS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

L. IRONSIDE
S.F.U.
JUNE, 1984

1. Goals of Public Education: Part I

You are given 16 general statements about what learning and development students should have by the end of secondary school.

Questions follow the list.

1. A fund of information about many things.
2. Efficient use of the 3 R's - the basic tools for acquiring and communicating knowledge.
3. The habit of weighing facts and imaginatively applying them to the solution of problems.
4. A continuing desire for knowledge - the inquiring mind.
5. A feeling for other people and the ability to live and work in harmony.
6. An understanding of government and a sense of civic responsibility.
7. Loyalty to Canada and the Canadian way of life.
8. Knowledge of world affairs and the inter-relationships among people.
9. A well-cared for, well developed body.
10. An emotionally stable person, prepared for life's realities.
11. A sense of right and wrong - a moral standard of behaviour.
12. Enjoyment of cultural activities - the finer things of life.
13. Information and guidance for wise occupational choice.
14. Specialized training for placement in a specific job.
15. The homemaking and handyman skills related to family life.
16. Management of personal finances and wise buying habits.

Questions

1. Which do you think is the most important goal? Place the number of that goal in the box. ☐
2. Which are the next two most important goals? ☐ ☐
3. Which are the next three most important goals? ☐ ☐ ☐
4. Which are the next four most important goals? ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
5. Which are the next three most important goals? ☐ ☐ ☐
6. Which are the next two most important goals? ☐ ☐
7. Which is the least important goal? ☐

2. Goals of Public Education Part II

This part of the questionnaire contains 36 statements of specific goals which students should achieve by the end of secondary school.

You are asked to indicate your opinion on two questions for each of these statements.

1. How important do you consider this goal to be as part of the school's program?

   You will indicate this by circling one number on the scale following each statement:

Should not be a school goal	Of little importance as a school goal	Of moderate importance as a school goal	Of great importance as a school goal
0	1	2	3

2. How well do you think the schools are presently doing in helping students achieve this goal?

   Give the schools a grade for their performance. Write the letter for one of the following grades in the blank under "Performance Grade", following each statement:

Schools are doing a very good job	A
Schools are doing a good job	B
Schools are doing an adequate job	C
Schools are doing a poor job	D
Schools are doing a very poor job	E
No opinion	0

GOAL STATEMENTS BY THE END OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS SHOULD:

Learn to do mathematical calculations.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Develop a positive self-concept.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Develop some sense of world community and of international goodwill.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Understand the biological facts of human reproduction.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn to be analytical and logical in their thinking.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Develop personal goals.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn to work co-operatively with others, including those who dress, act and think differently.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn to make socially responsible decisions.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn about various cultures of the world.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Develop a lasting desire for learning.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn how to make wise career choices.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Understand the beliefs of at least one religion.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *

*Performance grades:
Very Good=A Good=B Adequate=C Poor=D Very poor=E No opinion=0

KEYSTONE BUSINESS FORMS

GOAL STATEMENTS BY THE END OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS SHOULD:

Learn their mother tongue if it is not English or French.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Develop a good memory.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn to express themselves through forms such as music, writing, dance, film etc.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Understand the nature of drug, alcohol and tobacco usage and the impact it has on mental and physical health.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Develop the potential for positive contributions to society.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Develop the ability to adapt to the changing demands of society.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn to appreciate various forms of beauty and culture.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn scientific principles and methods.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Understand and appreciate the Canadian heritage, including that of all ethnic and racial groups.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn the skills of family living such as homemaking, craftsmanship, money management.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn about the race relations policies and legislation.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn the English which will be needed in many different situations, including business, further schooling and social life.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *

*Performance grades:
Very Good=A Good=B Adequate=C Poor=D Very poor=E No opinion=O

GOAL STATEMENTS BY THE END OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS SHOULD:

Value physical fitness and well-being, and apply principles of health and safety in daily living	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Understand and appreciate their family heritage and cultural roots	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn the life skills needed and resources available in this society dealing with banking, income tax, social and medical services, etc.	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn about the economic, political and judicial systems, as well as the social institutions of B. C. and Canada	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn sports, hobbies and other forms of recreation	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Develop a personal code of ethics and moral values	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn respect for the environment and learn to use natural resources responsibly	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn both official languages	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn to communicate their own ideas and feelings	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Respect other cultures and have an understanding of the interdependence of people	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn good manners and proper social conduct	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *
Learn skills for specific jobs	should not be a school goal 0	of little importance as a school goal 1	of moderate importance as a school goal 2	of great importance as a school goal 3	performance grade *

*Performance grades:

Very Good=A Good=B Adequate=C Poor=D Very poor=E No opinion=O

Are there goal statements you would like to see added to this list?

If so, please write them here:

BY THE END OF SECONDARY SCHOOL, STUDENTS SHOULD:

—

—

—

—

—

—

—

—

—

3. Quality of Public Education

The following are suggestions for improving the overall quality of public education. Read them and answer the question which follows the list.

1. Provide a pre-school program
2. Stricter discipline
3. More information to parents about the school system and programs
4. More homework
5. More extra-curricular activities
6. A multi-cultural focus in the curriculum
7. Raising academic standards
8. Improving the quality of school facilities
9. More ESL programs
10. More library materials
11. More time to teaching basic skills
12. More options for secondary students
13. Increased sensitivity on the part of teachers to different ethnic and cultural groups
14. Improved quality of materials on other cultures
15. More counselling help to students
16. Increase the length of the school day
17. Develop a greater climate of respect for and understanding of cultural differences in the school
18. Provide more chance for input from parents
19. Help parents to understand this society so they can understand their children's behaviour and attitudes
20. Follow the standardized Ministry curriculum more strictly

From the 20 items in the above list, which do you consider to be:

the one most important suggestion ___

the next two most important suggestions ___,___

the next four most important suggestions ___,___,___,___

the next six most important suggestions ___,___,___,___,___,___

the next four most important suggestions ___,___,___,___

the next two most important suggestions ___,___

the least important suggestion ___

4. Educational issues

School boards are being forced to make some cuts in order to meet the 1984-85 school budget. Some cuts can be made by the School Boards themselves, while other cuts would require provincial government approval. The following are some of the possibilities as to where cuts could be made:

1. Reducing the number of teachers by increasing the class size
2. Reducing special services (such as speech, reading and hearing therapy)
3. Reducing elementary French programs
4. Cutting back janitorial and maintenance services of facilities and grounds
5. Cutting back on library expenditures
6. Eliminating free textbook issue
7. Eliminating computer education programs
8. Cutting all teachers' salaries by a certain percentage
9. Eliminating Kindergarten
10. Eliminating out of district school activities (sports trips, band trips)
11. Shortening the school year by one month
12. Eliminating Grade 12 and shortening the number of years in school
13. Reducing the Elementary Music program
14. Eliminating the free use of school facilities by community groups

Which of these items <u>could be cut</u> without seriously affecting the quality of education (choose only five)

___, ___, ___, ___, ___

Which of these <u>should not be cut</u> because the quality of education would be seriously affected (choose only five)

___, ___, ___, ___, ___

During 1983 the provincial government reduced its financial support for the public school system. What is your reaction to these cuts? Circle the number beside your choice.

1. strongly support
2. support moderately
3. oppose moderately
4. oppose strongly
5. no opinion

It would take an increase of three percent (3%) in B.C. spending in education in 1984 to maintain educational services at the same levels as 1983. Do you support or oppose such an increase? Circle the number beside your choice.

1. support
2. oppose
3. no opinion

The provincial government has re-introduced province-wide exams in academic subjects for Grade 12. These exams will count for 50% of the students' final mark or grade. Do you think these examinations should

1. count for 50%
2. count for more than 50%
3. count for less than 50%
4. not count as part of the final grade
5. should not be given

Should public school teachers be permitted to strike?

1. yes
2. no
3. don't know

BACKGROUND

Your responses on this questionnaire are completely anonymous, as is any information on your background. If you consent to provide the following information, it will serve only to determine the homogeneity of respondents.

Place of birth: _____

Number of years in Canada, if not Canadian-born: ____years

Mother tongue: _____

Is English spoken in the home? Yes ___What % of the time ___%

No ___

Age: 20-29 ____
30-39 ____
40-49 ____
50-59 ____
60 + ____

Religious Affiliation: _____

Occupation: _____

Number of children in school in B.C. - elementary ____

- secondary ____

- post-secondary ____

Personal income

$10,000 - 19,999 ___
$20,000 - 29,999 ___
$30,000 - 39,999 ___
$40,000 - 49,999 ___
$50,000 + ___

Appendix F: Interview Quotes

Chinese-Canadians

- Some parents do feel their position is being threatened -- because the kids know more English.
- Parents must take responsibility, lay out values, take a stand.
- When you decide to move here, you are always on the losing side. You cannot fight the whole atmosphere.
- Probably some of the [parents] are concerned, but there is no way for them to participate, to give any input because of their language.
- I don't think the Consultative Committees existing in the school system are absorbing input from ethnic parents.
- Young people are worried about their future ... about peace ... what kind of subject is this?
- They [parents] think it's important that the kids always remember they are Chinese and they would love them to learn some Chinese.
- That cute, quiet little Chinese boy or Chinese kid that sits quietly, well-behaved, trying so hard.
- I think there's a need, regardless of how well the kid speaks English -- "Ah, he's got no more needs, he's the star of the basketball team - elected to the student council, got girlfriends" -- that may give the impression that everything's going well but, nevertheless -- need for identity, need to understand who he/she is.
- I would like them to be intelligent enough to make up their own minds -- to sift out the information they think are the critical elements. If they spot hogwash, they will tell whoever it is in the appropriate manner.
- There's got to be a teaching instructor modelling social understanding -- also social skills, how people get along.
- Needs for identity, for confidence, belonging -- a lot of things I could

relate to.

- Kids have got to learn how to speak English and kids have to learn how to adapt and adjust to the society.
- The assumption is [amongst the Chinese] that the educated person with all those degrees is knowledgeable and will get that job and will get that house -- and security, status.
- For visible minorities, the route to success has been through education and, of course, this is very consistent with the Chinese feelings about education being the most important thing in the lives of their children.
- Being a visible minority, you always felt you had to be better than the White majority in order to succeed in this world, so there's that additional pressure.
- It [educational system] doesn't support, value your ethnicity.
- Your ethnicity does not get valued and you see yourself as different.
- If the shcool doesn't value you as a Chinese person, then the other kids aren't going to either.
- I've felt like a second class citizen most of my life.
- I really think that the schools have got to concentrate on this education for a multicultural society, because nobody else is going to do it.
- Canadian [White] parents have trouble with their teen-agers. When you have a different culture, it makes it more complicated.
- We'll do anything that helps them succeed.
- I think they [the teachers] should have provided a safe environment for me to express myself, protected from embarrassment.
- The ones [Chinese-Canadians] that are Canadian-born are pretty accepting of the Canadian educational system, the development of the whole child, the social side.

Indo-Canadians

- Kids are caught up between the two value systems, two different religions and so on and they may in this confusion miss getting the good concept of good ethics.
- For every grown-up human being to contribute effectively and positively to the Canadian society, a person must know ethics, human values. That's one thing kids can be taught.
- Some teachers in the system are not as accepting -- of strange names, long hair.
- I respect the teacher community. They're doing a very good job. But still there are some teachers in the school system who may be, are ignorant, never got an opportunity to re-orientate themselves.
- Curriculum -- there are general guidelines and I do not see that the teachers have to change anything just particularly for the sake of I-C kids.
- Integration and getting mixed up [integrated] -- that's not a big thing, actually. The question is of maintaining the differences and making the people understand.
- But I find with our kids maybe more [rift between home and school] because this culture [home] and that culture [school] -- for them, it's double what it is for other people.
- The school can do many things ... but the school system itself cannot change the whole society.
- I don't know what the schools can do but I think the parents could be taught some more.
- Most of the parents are from villages ... they are illiterate and they do have a problem [communicating with the school].
- Each parent has a different attitude [re: cultural heritage].

- I do not know what the school can do in bridging the gap and that gap is very broad [home and school].
- But if you think of it in the long range [the question of seperate, independent schools] how those kids will get an opportunity to mix up with those Canadian kids.
- The school can provide many things, but not this environment [guidance] -- that's the parents' job.
- If the Sikh and the Hindu both come from a village, they will have exactly the same [values].
- I expect my kids to learn to fit into the Canadian mosaic in a better way, to learn well, maybe help the parents, maybe help someone back home in India.
- They are sandwiched between two cultures [villagers who come here].
- A student from villages. Their teaching system is entirely different in the villages. You can see a small place ... they don't have the facilities. They come here and all of a sudden, they are exposed to all those things. They may not fit into the whole system ... they will not become involved ... sometimes they don't do well.
- They [teachers] think, if we can handle one type, we can handle all East Indians like that.
- Where there is a possible number, they [school authorities] should provide ... so they can learn Punjabi as a second language.
- Making them [students] aware of the fact that, just like several trees make the forest and each one is valuable.
- These children live in two worlds sometimes, outside [the home] one world, and inside, another life. But certainly they have to deal with the outside more than they have to deal with the inside of the house.

- The parents think anything that is happening in the school system is widening the rift between parent and teacher in terms of moral values.
- The language barrier they can overcome without much trouble.
- So at Grade 12, I would say that they should be equipped to deal with individuals in a democratic society, respecting each other's freedom, willing to accommodate the differences and live in ... a peaceful coexistence.
- For the children, it's a great balancing act. It is not easy for children to retain their own heritage and become part of the mainstream.
- Teachers should take more leadership role, try to bring down those barriers [discrimination and racism].
- Does it [school] make them good human beings?
- What we are looking at here is creating that mosaic ... without sacrificing our own identity ... proud of our identity.
- Teachers have to be sensitized ... students are not forthcoming in asking questions.
- The teachers sometimes have to be more understanding in trying to help them by not breaking down their traditions ... by trying to respect them.
- The first city lights they [children from rural areas] have seen are the lights of Vancouver.
- The problem is not what teachers should give, but how much the teachers know which they can give.
- I don't like the ESL teacher to be looked upon as the only one whose interest is to know other groups. It is the duty of every Canadian to know about his neighbour.
- I am more than happy with the quality of our teachers.
- The problems of mainstream parents are not the same; they [mainstream and minority] cannot function as one in one parent group.

Appendix G: Write-in comments from questionnaire

At the end of Part II, Goals of Education, respondants were asked if they had goals they would like to add to the list given to complete the statement: **By the end of secondary school, students should ...**

- value family life as the foundation of security, self-growth and the ultimate means to achieve happiness.
- respect and appreciation for those who brought them up.
- develop virtues like humility and patience in social living.
- preserve good cultural traditions.
- tolerance for others' moral and cultural values and learn to distinguish right from wrong.
- cultivate sensitivity to do good for others.
- learn to be courteous to all people, not only to those from whom you expect favours.

- be aware of the conflicts in society: union vs. non-union, rich vs. poor, individual vs. society, etc.
- how new technology is affecting our lives.
- what to expect of life when they step out in the community at large, away from the shelter of their homes, or protection of their parents.
- some knowledge of global issues: peace, nuclear war, poverty and disadvantaged and unfortunate people in this world.

- the respect for the teachers is declining.
- the image of the teacher is needed to be enhanced as the students look up to them as they are learning from them.

- attain basic computer literacy.
- skills necessary to survive as a consumer.
- personal use proficiency in typing.

- enrichment through expert practise of visual arts.
- computer programs at an early age.
- equal access to career information.
- lifetime recreational sports.
- equal opportunity for handicapped.
- appreciation and knowledge of civil and human rights.
- exposure to media, understanding, e.g. advertising, t.v., movies.

- he should be able to make his decisions, to have his/her life goals set and work from there to achieve.
- further education/work force.

- have a certain amount of community work experience.
- have learned some speed reading skills.
- have learned some computer skills.

- acquire ability for critical thought.
- develop self-confidence to make a public speech.
- respect for authority.
- respect differing views and opinions and be tolerant of others.

- be a mature, well-balanced individual, to appreciate and work with society.
- have more than one area with good academic standings to pursue his career in.

- schools should not be afraid of teaching of instilling a sense of moral responsibility in children.

- understand how power is truly distributed in this society.
- understand the nature of mass media and be very critical of it.
- be able to distinguish beliefs and facts relating to ethnic groups and labour unions.

References

A framework for better education. Vancouver: Vancouver School Board, 1981.

Anderson, A.B. & Frideres, J.S. Ethnicity in Canada: theoretical perspectives. Toronto: Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1981.

Anderson, C.A. Equality of opportunity in a pluralistic society: a theoretical framework. International Review of Education, 1975, 21(3), 287-300.

Anderson, K. The new Ellis Island. Time, 1983, June 13, 16-23.

Andrews, J.H.M. Public and professional opinion regarding the tasks of the public schools in Alberta. Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta, 1959.

Ashworth, M. Immigrant children and Canadian schools. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1975.

Ashworth, M. The forces which shaped them. A history of the education of minority group children in British Columbia. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1979.

Baldrey, K. Ethnic vote blocs hold key to working class riding. Vancouver: The Sun, August 13, 1984.

Bancroft, G.W. (Ed.), Outreach for understanding: a report of the intercultural seminar program conducted in Toronto between 1973 and 1975. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Citizenship Division, Multicultural Program, 1976.

Baratz, S.S. & Baratz, J.C. Early childhood intervention: the social science base of institutional racism. Harvard Educational Review, 1970, 40(1), 29-50.

Bonjean, C.M. Community leadership: a case study and conceptual refinement. American Journal of Sociology, 1963, 68(6), 672-681.

Bottomore, T.B. Elites and society. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1964.

Buchignani, N.L. Accommodation, adaptation and policy dimensions of the South Asian experience in Canada. In K.V. Ujimoto & C. Hirabayashi (Eds.), Visible minorities and multiculturalism: Asians in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths, 1980.

Burnet, J. Myths and multiculturalism. Canadian Journal of Education, 1979, 4, 43 - 58.

Cafik, N., M.P. Address. In Multiculturalism and education: a report of the proceedings of the Western Regional Conference. Saskatoon: Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies, 1978.

Citizens' School Inquiry. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Ministry of Education, 1973.

Collins, D. Immigration and the schools - we're suckers! Vancouver: The Sun, June 26, 1976.

Con, H., Con, R.J., Johnson, G., Wickbert, E. & Willmott, W.E. (Eds.), From China to Canada: a history of the Chinese communities in Canada. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982.

Cummins, J. The language and culture issue in the education of minority language children. Interchange, 1979-80, 10(4), 72-88.

Curriculum and Instruction Review. Regina, Saskatchewan: Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1982.

Curnisky, Savellisa. How to teach a Ukranian. In M.L. Kovacs (Ed.), Ethnic Canadians: culture and education. Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978.

D'Antonio, W. & Erickson, E.C. The reputational technique as a measure of community power: an evaluation based on comparative and longitudinal studies. American Sociological Review, 1962, 3, 362-376.

Dahl, R.A. Further reflections on 'the elitist theory of democracy.' American Political Science Review, 1968, 60(2), 296-306.

Darroch, A.G. Another look at ethnicity, stratification and social mobility in Canada. Canadian Journal of Sociology, 1979, 4(1), 1-25.

Downey, L.W. The tasks of public education: the perceptions of people. Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, 1960.

Educational Research Institute of B.C. School Goal Study: Vancouver Educational Needs Assessment Study. Vancouver, 1975.

Elliott, J.L. (Ed.). Minority Canadians: immigrant groups. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971.

Evaluation and Research Services, Vancouver School Board. 1982 Survey of pupils for whom English is a second language. Vancouver: Vancouver School Board, 1983.

Glavin, T. & Baldrey, K. To 80,000 Sikhs, B.C. is still home. Vancouver: The Sun, June 7, 1984.

Glazer, N. & Moynihan, D.P. Beyond the melting pot. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Hammers, J.F. Etude comparative sur la transmission des valeurs chez les parents immigrants et chez les enseignants canadiens. In D.C. Lee (Ed.), Emerging Ethnic Boundaries, Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979.

Higham, J. (Ed.). Ethnic leadership in America. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Hunter, F. Community power structure. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

Jaenen, C.J. Cultural diversity and education. In Niall Byrne & Jack Quarter (Eds.), Must schools fail? The growing debate in Canadian education, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972.

Johnson, G.E. Chinese family and community in Canada: tradition and change. In Jean Leonard Elliott (Ed.), Two nations, many cultures: ethnic groups in Canada. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1979.

Knickerbocker, N. Ethnic minorities seek action in return for their support. Vancouver: The Sun, August 3, 1984.

Kringas, P. & Lewins, F. Why ethnic schools? Selected case studies. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980.

La Fountaine, M. Responsiveness and the multicultural society. Education Canada, 1975, 15(4), 49-53.

Li, K.C. & Leung, S. Their own mosaic: the diversity of the Chinese in Canada. Vancouver: The Vancouver Province, September 18, 1983.

Longstreet, W.S. Aspects of ethnicity: understanding differences in pluralistic classrooms. New York: Teachers' College Press, 1978. (a)

Longstreet, W.S. Learning and diversity: the ethnic factor. Educational Research Quarterly, 1978(4), 1978. (b)

Mallea, J.R. Ethnicity and Canadian education. In M.L. Kovacs (Ed.), Ethnic Canadians: culture and education. Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978.

Ministry of Education, Province of British Columbia. Administrative handbook for elementary and secondary schools. Victoria: Province of British Columbia, 1982.

Ministry of Education Annual Report. Victoria: B.C. Ministry of Education, 1983.

Ministry of Supply and Services. 1982 Immigration Statistics. Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1984.

Morgan, T.B. The Latinization of America. Esquire, 1983, 99(5), 47-56.

Multiculturalism Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State. The Canadian family tree: Canada's peoples. Don Mills, Ontario: Department of the Secretary of State, 1979.

Nagata, J.A. One vine, many branches: internal differentiation in Canadian ethnic groups. In Elliott (Ed.), Two nations, many cultures: ethnic groups in Canada. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1979.

Nostrand, H.L. Empathy for a second culture: Motivations and techniques. In G.A. Jarvis (Ed.), Responding to new realities. Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Co., 1974.

Palmer, H. & Troper, H. Canadian ethnic studies: Historical perspectives and contemporary implications. Interchange, 1973, 4(4), 15-23.

Patterson, O. Context and choice in ethnic allegiance. In N. Glazer & D.P. Moynihan (Eds.), Ethnicity: theory and experience. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Pineo, P.C. The social standing of ethnic and racial groupings. In G.E. Goldstein & R.M. Bienvenue (Eds.), Ethnicity and ethnic relations in Canada: a book of readings. Toronto: Butterworths, 1980.

Policy Manual. Vancouver: Vancouver School Board, 1982.

Porter, J. The vertical mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Porter, J. Ethnic pluralism in Canadian perspective. In N. Glazer & D.P. Moynihan (Eds.), Ethnicity: theory and experience. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Ramcharan, S. Special problems of immigrant children in the Toronto school system. In A. Wolfgang (Ed.), Education of immigrant students: issues and answers, Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975.

Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1969.

Report on the Chinese multicultural seminar. Toronto: Ministry of Education, Multicultural Development Branch, 1974.

Reitz, J.G. The survival of ethnic groups. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1980.

Robinson, N. & Block, J. What are secondary schools for? Expectations of Parents, Educators and Students. Paper presented at the Third Congress on Education, Montreal, June, 1980.

Rudman, H.C. Multiethnicity: regression or progression? Educational Administration Quarterly, 1977, 13(3), 41-50.

Samuda, R.J. How are the schools of Ontario coping with a New Canadian population: a report of recent research findings. TESL Talk, 1980, 11(1), 44-51.

Saxe, R.W. School-community interaction. Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1975.

Sennett, R. Pure as the driven slush. In D.R. Colburn & C.E. Pozzetta (Eds.), America and the new ethnicity. Port Washington, N.Y.: National University Publication, 1979.

Schulze, R.O. & Blumber, L.U. The determination of local power elites. American Journal of Sociology, 1957, 63(3), 290-296.

Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1982.

Subramanian, I.A. East Indians in Canada. In Intercultural seminars: East Indians. Toronto: Multicultural Development Branch, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1976.

The Livable Region. Vancouver: Greater Vancouver Regional District, 1982.

Wallace, A.F.C. The psychic unity of human groups. In B. Kaplan (Ed.), Studying personality cross-culturally. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1961.

Watkins, D.T. Critical factors in school-community relations associated with voting behaviour on budget by-laws. Unpublished thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1972.

Wengert, N. Citizen participation: practice in search of a theory. National Resources Journal, 1976, 16(1), 23-41.

Wilkinson, D. Education and the social mobility of three ethnic groups: a Canadian case study. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1981, 13(2), 61-71.

Wilson, V.S. & Mullins, W.A. Representative bureaucracy: linguistic/ethnic aspects in Canadian public policy. Canadian Public Administration, 1978, 21(4), 513-538.

Wolfgang, A. Basic issues and plausible answers in counselling New Canadians. In A. Wolfgang (Ed.), Education of immigrant students: issues and answers, Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975.

Wolfinger, R. E. Reputation and reality in the study of "community power." American Sociological Review, 1960, 25(5), 636-644.

Wong, B.P. Chinatown: economic adaptation and ethnic identity of the Chinese. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1982.

Work group on multicultural programs: briefs received. Toronto: Toronto Board of Education, 1975.

Yee, P. The many worlds of Chinese Canadians. Vancouver: The Vancouver Province, September 18, 1983.

Young, J.C. Education in a multicultural society: what sort of education? what sort of society? Canadian Journal of Education, 1979, 4(3), 5-21.

Reference Notes

1. Kerr, H. Personal communication, December 1984.